



PHD

Mobile Lives in Peru

The dynamics of relational anchoring

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**Mobile Lives in Peru: The dynamics of relational
anchoring**

Rebecca Huovinen

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Social and Policy Sciences

December 2013

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Abstract

This thesis explores experiences of mobility in Peru with a particular focus on the dynamics of family relationships. Over the past decade the ‘migration and development’ debate has gained prominence in academic and policy circles. The debate has focused on international migration and there is an identified need for movements *within* countries to be revisited, especially given that the majority of poor people in developing countries move within rather than between countries. A further limitation has been the focus on economic dimensions of development particularly in terms of the impact of remittance flows. An emergent argument in the literature supports a holistic notion of development and within this support for a wellbeing perspective is gaining momentum (IOM, 2013; Wright, 2010, 2011, 2012; Wright and Black, 2011). The distinctiveness of a wellbeing approach lies in its emphasis on people’s own perceptions and experiences of life (White, 2010). Wellbeing is understood to incorporate the material, relational and subjective dimensions of life and the interplay between these. Emphasis is placed on the socio-cultural context in shaping these dimensions of wellbeing.

The study employs wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’ to explore people’s perceptions and experiences of mobility in Peru with a focus on the dynamics of family relationships. The research explores experiences of mobile lives from the perspective of poor urban residents of a ‘human settlement’ on the outskirts of Lima, the capital. This is supplemented with interviews with residents of rural, peri-urban and urban communities of the highlands [*sierra*]. The thesis points to the necessity and routineness of mobility in the search ‘to get ahead’ [*salir adelante*]. Central to understanding experiences of mobility is the dynamic of how people anchor relationally. ‘Relational anchoring’ (Auyero and Swistun, 2008) reflects a sense of togetherness [*estar juntos*] and closeness [*estar unidos*] in family and is based on relations of *cariño* [affection, warmth and love]. The thesis details the struggle surrounding the establishment of anchoring routines (phone calls, visits and ‘sending’), especially when anchoring to kin relations (parents and siblings in particular) and to ones immediate family (partner and children) create competing demands on limited resources. Senses of wellbeing in experiences of mobility are expressed through the contrasting emotions of *pena* [sorrow] and being *tranquilo/a* [content]. *Pena* expresses a sense of disruption in

relationships and conveys the socio-cultural meaning of separation and living apart from kin. Narratives of an enduring *pena* and isolation are predominantly female narratives and reveal the significance of the relational circumstances of mobility in shaping experiences which are marked by ambiguity and vulnerability.

Chapter 1 Introduction

In the Peruvian highlands, Humberto is waiting for his wife, Viviana, to return to their village Lejano. Viviana has taken their youngest daughter of nine years of age to Lima to join her siblings for her education and whilst staying there is helping to look after some of their grandchildren. Humberto is unsure when his wife will return. Seven of their nine children live in Lima, their other two children are working in the coffee harvest in the *selva* (jungle). Humberto is 67 years old and suffers from ill health; he is unable to work in the fields. Although his adult children want him to go to live with them in Lima, Humberto plans to stay in the village and hopes to buy a piece of land either in Huancayo or Lima for his youngest children.

On the outskirts of the nearest city, Huancayo, Florentino (54 years old) is concerned that his daughter has not returned from Lima to vote in the Presidential elections. She is working in a factory in Lima and supports the family, sending money to cover her younger sister's school expenses. He explains

“she couldn't return for the elections, she must have had a set back, maybe she couldn't leave work or they didn't give her permission (to leave) ... the truth is that I don't know what could have happened, I couldn't communicate with her ... I was sure that she was going to return for the elections”. (March 2006).

Two other daughters travel to Lima in the school holidays to work in domestic service, contributing to the household income. Florentino is a security guard (watchman) at a local medical centre but has not been paid for three months and relies on the support of his daughters to get by.

Lucia is 35 years old, she lives in a shantytown on the outskirts of Lima. She was born in Lima but spent a period of her childhood living in her parents' village in Cusco, and from the age of nine moved to the city of Cusco to live and work with an uncle. This set in motion a series of moves firstly around Cusco and then returning to Lima and making several moves around various districts within Lima. Several years ago Lucia's husband left the country to work in Ecuador, although at first he made return visits and contributed income to the household, he is no longer in contact with her and their children. Lucia has also drifted apart from her father who has remained in the village in Cusco.

This thesis is an exploration of these lived experiences of mobility in Peru and the relations among spatially dispersed families. These cases reveal the multiple and complex forms of movements that individuals and families are involved in as they seek to make a living. They also show how families become spatially dispersed through movement and reveal some of the dynamics of these relationships, for example the difficulties in communicating with relatives even between urban areas. This thesis explores the movements that people engage in over the course of their lives - ‘mobile lives’ with a focus on the dynamics of family relationships.

I locate the thesis in the ‘migration and development’ debate which has gained prominence over the past decade in academic and policy circles creating an ‘international buzz’ around the subject (Vammen and Bronden, 2012). Internal migration has received little attention within this debate (de Haan and Yaqub, 2009; Laczko, 2008; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004). There is an identified need for movements *within* countries to be revisited, especially given that the majority of poor people in developing countries move within rather than between countries (de Haan and Yaqub, 2009; MGP, 2009; Sorensen *et al*, 2003). A further limitation in the migration-development debate has been the focus on economic dimensions of development particularly in terms of flows of remittances. There is increasing consensus in the literature that a broader notion of development is required to more fully understand the development impact of migration and within this support for a wellbeing perspective is beginning to gain momentum (IOM, 2013; Wright, 2010, 2011, 2012; Wright and Black, 2011). The World Migration Report 2013 ‘*Migrant Well-being and Development*’ places wellbeing firmly on the migration-development agenda. The report calls for a subjective focus on what people experience and feel about their lives. It identifies the need to focus on migrants as persons and on how the migration experience has affected their lives in positive or negative ways (IOM, 2013: 175). The distinctiveness of a wellbeing approach lies in its emphasis on people’s own perceptions and experiences of life (White, 2010). This thesis is informed by the conception of wellbeing developed through the work of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) research group¹. Here wellbeing is understood to arise from the interplay

¹ This was a 5 year research programme (2002-2007) funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) at the University of Bath. See www.welldev.org.uk

between the dimensions of the material, relational and subjective (McGregor, 2007; White, 2010). Emphasis is placed on the socio-cultural context in shaping these dimensions of wellbeing. In this thesis I draw on wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’ to focus on aspects of people’s lives which are often sidelined, in particular the non-economic (subjective-relational) dimensions. The research is concerned to explore the subjective dimension: to explore people’s perceptions and experiences of mobility, and takes a specific focus on experiences and feelings relating to the dynamics of family relationships.

Peru is a country which has experienced vast internal population movements. The extent of rural-urban movement throughout the 20th century has drastically changed the geographical spread of the population from a mainly rural and highland based population to an urban and coastal one. The main destination of movement has been to the capital, Lima. Movement has become an integral component of livelihoods in Peru (Sorensen, 2002a). Through continued movement between rural and urban areas extensive networks and interconnections have developed connecting people and places. Studies have revealed the importance of these interconnections in enabling people to combine the resources of rural and urban worlds (DFID/World Bank, 2003; Gascón, 2004; Llona *et al*, 2004; Sorensen, 2002a). The literature has focused on the positive nature of these networks and interconnections in terms of facilitating access to employment and accommodation in urban areas, and enabling the flows of remittances (monetary and non-monetary). Studies have emphasised the strength and continuation of these family and community networks. Research on migration in the Peru context over the past decade has mainly focused on Peruvians living abroad and these studies have shown continued and active social networks linking migrants with family, kin and local communities in Peru. Few studies have focused on the intra-familial level of networks – the connections between family members dispersed through mobility (exceptions are Tamagno, 2002 and Carrasco, 2010, both in the context of international migration).

This thesis is concerned with mobile lives in Peru – the diversity of moves that people engage in over the course of their lives. The research set out to consider two main research themes:

1. To explore people’s perceptions and experiences of mobility over the course of their lives.

2. To explore whether and in what ways people continue and maintain relations with family living elsewhere and to explore people's perceptions and feelings about these relationships in experiences of mobility.

The study was carried out in a poor 'human settlement', Esperanza, on the outskirts of Lima, the capital. It explores perceptions and experiences of mobility from the perspective of poor urban residents (men and women, young, middle-aged, and older) through the method of 'mobility stories'. This is supplemented with insights from interviews with residents of rural, peri-urban and urban areas of the highlands [*sierra*].

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter two outlines two main limitations within the migration-development debate: the exclusive focus on international migration and the concern with economic dimensions of development. It identifies the need for a broader notion of development and outlines how a wellbeing perspective offers a more holistic approach. In particular I emphasise the distinctiveness of the subjective dimension, a focus on people's own perceptions and experience of life. Chapter three takes an historical perspective to detail the periodical shifts in research on migration and mobility in Peru, from a concern with push-pull factors, to urban integration and adaptation, to the development of networks and interconnections between rural and urban areas. The literature reveals that movement has become an integral component of livelihoods. More recently studies have focused on international migration reflecting the wider trend in the migration literature.

Chapter four outlines the methodology. It starts by detailing the WeD methodology and the WeD research in Peru. I locate the beginnings of my research with my involvement in the migration studies as part of the WeD-Peru research programme. I present some reflections on these studies and how this guided the in-depth fieldwork for this thesis and my research themes. I detail the process of getting started in the fieldwork community, Esperanza in Lima, and the main method used of mobility stories. Chapter five gives a brief overview of the highland [*sierra*] communities (rural, peri-urban and urban) selected for the WeD-Peru research and then focuses on Esperanza, Lima. This urban settlement on the outskirts of Lima was created in 1984, I detail how the community was established and how it has developed, its organisational structure, places of origin

of its residents, socio-economic characteristics, and the levels of infrastructure and basic services in the community.

The next three chapters present the empirical findings. Chapter six explores the aspirations driving movement. I argue that whilst people move in order to seek material improvements (e.g. for work, income, a home/land, to access basic services and infrastructure including education, water supply, electricity, sanitation, healthcare and roads and transport) these cannot be separated from the socio-cultural idiom of ‘getting ahead’ [*salir adelante*]. I show how mobility has become routine in the search to get ahead and explore the imagery of getting ahead. Chapter seven is concerned with how people rework relationships with family when they are separated through mobility. I use the idea of ‘anchoring’ to explore the meaning of family in mobile lives. I argue that the reworking of relationships occurs through ‘anchoring routines’ - phone calls, text messages, visits and family gatherings, ‘sending’ and the provision of support, and that it is through these practices that a sense of anchoring in family relations is regained. I focus on the struggles and tensions entailed in establishing these anchoring routines. Chapter eight explores the emotional dimension of mobility experiences through the dynamics of *pena* [sorrow]. It shows *pena* as reflective of a disruption to relationships and conveys the socio-cultural meaning of living apart from family. I show how *pena* motivates and enacts connection with loved ones. The majority of the chapter explores predominantly female narratives of an enduring sorrow and isolation. Through these narratives I reveal the significance of the relational circumstances of mobility in shaping experiences. Chapter nine identifies the key insights gained from the study and identifies areas for future research.

Chapter 2 Migration, development and wellbeing

2.1 Introduction

This chapter situates the thesis within the migration and development debate or ‘nexus’ (Sorensen *et al*, 2002)² which has been gaining momentum in academic and policy circles over the past decade, creating an ‘international buzz’ around the subject (Vammen and Bronden, 2012). However, despite the burgeoning interest in migration and development throughout the 2000s, it is important to recognise that this debate is decades old (De Haas and Rodriguez, 2010). What defines the current interest is a more optimistic outlook, in contrast to the pessimistic views that predominated before the 1990s (De Haas and Rodriguez, 2010: 177). This optimistic shift is however more reflective of international migration and development than internal migration. The migration-development debate has predominantly focused on a specific type of migration, *international* migration and a particular type of development, namely *economic* development through a focus on flows of remittances, especially from richer countries to poorer countries. I argue for a renewed focus on movements within poorer countries because of the volume of people involved; the poorest tend to move within rather than between countries (de Haan and Yaqub, 2009; MGP, 2009; Sorensen *et al*, 2003b). I point to the multitude and complexity of moves within countries and argue that mobility and movement are more appropriate terms; I support a focus on the movements entailed in making a living, rather than slicing movements into typologies and studying these in isolation of one another.

I then detail the need for a broader notion of development and argue that the ‘discursive space’ (Copestake, 2008a) is opening for the significance of a wellbeing perspective for understanding development beyond economic measures to include non-economic aspects of people’s lives. Wellbeing is gaining momentum both within the development community and within the migration-development debate. The most recent indicator being the publication of the 2013 World Migration Report entitled ‘*Migrant Well-being and Development*’ (IOM, 2013). The final section outlines the wellbeing perspective that informs this thesis

² The chapter will not systematically review the range of migration theories, for extensive reviews see the works of Castles and Miller (1998), de Haan (1999), Massey *et al* (1998) and Phizacklea (1999).

developed through the work of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) research group. Wellbeing is viewed as arising from the interplay of the material (what people have or do not have), relational (what people can do or cannot do with what they have) and subjective (how people think or feel about what they can do and be) (McGregor, 2007: 317; White, 2010). I argue that the subjective focus is particularly distinctive of the approach. I explain that I employ wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’ and argue that it opens up spaces to consider important aspects of people’s lives which are often underplayed or ignored, non-economic dimensions. I then consider the relational and subjective dimensions in greater depth, and find further support in the wider migration literature for a focus on relational-subjective dimensions of migration and mobility. I also identify a comparable argument in this literature of the need to consider the interaction between the material/economic, relational, and subjective/emotional dimensions of migration rather than considering these aspects in isolation of one another.

2.2 The migration-development debate

The surging interest in the link between migration and development which has gained momentum throughout the 2000s has emerged in response to the increase in international migration over the past 20 years, which is itself intimately linked to the accelerating pace of globalisation (Castles, 2010). “Globalisation has enabled and requires the increased mobility of people, as well as the mobility of capital, goods and services” (DFID, 2007: 1). The heightened interest in migration and development throughout the 2000s is evidenced at the UK national policy level by the publication of the House of Commons International Development Committee (HCIDC) 2004 report on *‘Migration and Development: how to make migration work for poverty reduction’* and a subsequent report of the Department for International Development (DFID) (2007) *‘Moving Out of Poverty: Making migration work better for poor people’*. In addition, part of DFID’s commitment to strengthen research and analysis in this area was the funding of £2.5 million to the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty (MGP) at the University of Sussex (2003-

2009)³. Migration and development also became firmly placed on the agendas of many key international development agencies and international institutions including the World Bank⁴, regional development banks, the International Organisation for Migration, the United Nations and the European Union (Usher, 2005; Vammen and Bronden, 2012)⁵. Vammen and Bronden (2012) characterise this widespread interest in migration and development as ‘the migration and development buzz’.

However, concern with the link between migration and development is not new; it has historical antecedents (Sorensen, 2007). This has led several authors to emphasise that the current migration-development debate is not a new, but rather a ‘renewed’ interest (Bronden, 2012; de Haas, 2010, 2012). What has changed is how the link is conceptualised and viewed, which de Haas (2012) has likened to a pendulum swinging back and forth. The view has shifted from a negative, pessimistic stance, with migration being regarded as a problem in receiving countries, to a more optimistic position emphasising the potential development and poverty-reduction benefits international migration has for countries of origin (Black and Sward, 2009; Castles and Delgado-Wise, 2007; de Haas, 2010; HCIDC, 2004; Sorensen, 2007). This positive view is evidenced by migrants being re-classified and celebrated as ‘heroes of development’ (Castles and Delgado-Wise, 2007: 3), ‘agents of development’ (Piper, 2009: 94; Bronden, 2012) and ‘migrants as a development resource’ (Sorensen *et al*, 2002: 5). The shift also reflects a change in the substance of the debate, with earlier concerns being related to *internal* migration and this ‘renewed’ interest being almost exclusively about *international* migration. From the late 1960s to the early 1980s internal migration received substantial policy attention at the national/country level, much of this attention though was “negative and alarmist” (Ellis, 2003: 10). Rural-urban migration was portrayed as “undesirable”, a “destabilizing process”, a “threat to stability” (de Haan, 1999; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2005), and as being

³ See www.migrationdrc.org. This research programme has now been succeeded by the Migrating Out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium (RPC), see www.migratingoutofpoverty.org.

⁴ In 2003 the World Bank launched the International Migration and Development Research Programme (<http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/migration>) in response to the lack of data on migration (Ozden and Schiff, 2007).

⁵ The ‘buzz’ is also reflected in several forums including the launch of the Global Commission on International Migration in 2003 and the UN High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (2006) which led to the creation of the Global Migration Forum (Ozden and Schiff, 2007).

linked with poverty, unemployment and underemployment (Goldscheider, 1987). This led many governments to develop policies to control and restrict rural to urban migration movements (Goldscheider, 1987). Rather than a development resource, internal migration has in the past been viewed as “an obstacle to development that had to be restricted and controlled (Dang, 2003)” (IOM, 2005: 13). However, it is often difficult to identify a specific, clearly defined national policy approach of a particular country towards internal migration because it affects the work of a range of different government departments (IOM, 2005: 17). De Haan and Rogaly (2002: 12) identify migration as “an uncomfortable area” for policy-makers and argue that “few policies relate directly to migration, particularly at the national level”.

An extensive review by Black and Sward (2009) of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)⁶ analysed the ways in which migration (including internal migration, emigration and immigration) featured in the papers between 1999-2008. This review suggests there is little evidence of the filtering down of this more positive perspective of the migration-development debate, in terms of viewing migration as an opportunity for development; this was particularly the case in relation to internal migration. Internal migration tended to be discussed in more negative ways compared to international migration. Three main categories are identified: “the negative relationship between migration and rural poverty; the pressure of rural-urban migration on urban centres; and problems associated with forced internal displacement”, with the focus being on pressure on urban areas (Black and Sward, 2009: 16). This suggests a continuation of the flavour of earlier ‘negative’ policy attention. Black and Sward find that

“relatively few PRSPs discuss the positive development impacts of internal migration even though it has been shown to be the most important type of migration for poor people” (p.34).

The review provides further evidence of the neglect or sidelining of internal migration (Black and Sward, 2009; de Haan and Yaqub, 2009; UNDP, 2009).

The lack of engagement with and integration of, migration into national

⁶ They studied 59 PRSPs that developing countries produced during the period 1999-2008 and also 25 countries produced a second revised PRSP within that period which they also studied to investigate whether there had been a shift in approaches to migration over time, in particular whether they appear to have adopted “elements of the new ‘paradigm’ of migration and development” or whether they remain consistent with the older paradigm viewing migration as reflecting or contributing to underdevelopment (Black and Sward, 2009: 12; MGP, 2009: 39).

development and poverty reduction strategies in developing countries is an indicator that “migration continues to challenge development thinking” (de Haan and Yaqub, 2009: 14; Black and Sward, 2009; IOM, 2005; UNDP, 2009). It is also surprising that migration (international and internal migration) is absent from the Millennium Development Goals framework (Usher, 2005; HCIDC, 2004). Migration is relevant to a range of issues including poverty, gender equality, HIV/AIDS, the environment, health and education (HCIDC, 2004). The most recent World Migration Report (IOM, 2013) argues that migration should be firmly on the post-2015 framework for development: to address that “despite the growing interest in migration and development, the issue has not been factored into the Millennium Development Goals or systematically integrated into national development plans”.

As the above has indicated, the migration-development debate has been predominantly preoccupied with a particular type of migration - international migration, and movements within countries have been side-lined and even ignored. Many of the key reports (e.g. HCIDC, 2004; World Bank Global Economic Prospects 2006) focus solely on the potential that international migration has for development and poverty reduction, a ‘blinker vision’ overlooking the fact that in developing countries internal migration is quantitatively more important (King and Skeldon, 2010: 1637). A further bias in the debate has been the dominance of economic concerns linked particularly to the role of remittances. As De Haas and Rodriguez (2010: 177) argue “there has been a one-sided emphasis on remittances and the economic impacts of migration” and “the development value of migration has mainly been evaluated from a rather utilitarian, *instrumental* perspective, which coincides with a lack of recognition for the *intrinsic* development value of human mobility” (p.177-178). It is these two main limitations of the migration-development debate that the remainder of the chapter focuses on.

2.3 Internal migration and mobility

A major limitation of the migration-development debate through the past decade has been its almost exclusive focus on international migration⁷, such that “‘migration’ has somehow come to mean ‘international migration’” (King and Skeldon, 2010: 1620), ‘migration’ is synonymous with ‘international migration’ (IOM, 2005; Laczko, 2008)⁸. Internal migration has been neglected, sidelined and under-researched. One of the reasons cited for the neglect of internal migration is that it is ‘less visible’ and less well documented compared with international migration (IOM, 2005). It is true that country-level data on internal population movements is often unsatisfactory (Skeldon, 2008) and is normally restricted to monitoring permanent relocations. Deshingkar and Grimm (2004: 13) illuminate some of the key problems with data on internal migration:

“Data on migration are notoriously inadequate. Several problems plague censuses and other national surveys including: the inability to capture seasonal and part-time occupations, covering only registered migrants and not being able to capture rural-rural moves”.

This lack of data on rural-rural moves is particularly pertinent given that this form of movement has been identified as the most common form of internal migration, especially for the poorest (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004; DFID, 2007; IOM, 2005). However, I agree with de Haan (2006: 1) that these issues of data collection and measuring of population movements within countries are not “sufficient justification for the continued lack of attention”. Internal migration needs to be revisited and should be more firmly placed on the agenda of the migration-development debate. As Skeldon (2008: 29) emphasises “any focus of migration and its impact on poverty, and vice versa, needs to consider internal migration first and foremost”. This is because the majority of poor people in developing countries move *within* rather than *between* countries (de Haan and Yaqub, 2009; MGP, 2009). As Sorensen *et al* (2003b: 290) explain, people in developing countries require resources and connections to engage in international

⁷ Within international movements, South-South migration has also been under-researched and neglected even though this is also a more common form of movement compared with South-North migration (IOM, 2013; Laczko, 2008; MGP, 2009; Piper, 2009; Sorensen *et al*, 2003b; UNRISD, 2008).

⁸ This is also the case in the wider migration literature where migration scholars more commonly research international migration (King and Skeldon, 2010).

migration, “the poorest of the poor lack the resources and network connections needed for migration”. Thus remittances from international migrants tend to go to “the better-off households within the better-off communities in the better-off countries of the developing world, since these households, communities, and countries tend to be the source of migrants” (Sorensen *et al*, 2003b: 291)⁹.

Internal migration is more significant for poor people not only due to the volume of people involved but also in terms of potential impact on poverty reduction (DFID, 2007; Deshingkar, 2006). The impact on poverty reduction is mainly related to the quantum of remittance flows (Deshingkar, 2006). In a key report on ‘*Voluntary Internal Migration: an update*’¹⁰ Deshingkar and Grimm (2004: 28) argue that compared to remittance flows between rich and poor countries,

“although the individual quantities are smaller, the total volume of internal remittances is likely to be enormous because of the numbers of people involved especially in China, SE Asia and S Asia”.

This also means that internal remittances reach a greater number and range of people, internal migrants “come from a greater range of source areas than international migrants” (Skeldon, 2008: 28). A further reason why internal migration should be revisited is that such movements are continuing and are likely to increase in the future. Despite inadequate urban housing, increasing numbers of slum dwellers, rising levels of unemployment and deepening urban poverty, urbanisation and internal migration have continued and will continue; we are becoming an ‘urban world’ (UN HABITAT, 2006; Deshingkar, 2005). A further key issue is the implications of climate change and environmental degradation on migration (‘environmental migration’). Laczko (2008: 10-11) argues that such movements are likely to be substantial and that most of the movement will occur within countries (see also MGP, 2009). Evidence that a shift is currently occurring to a renewed focus on internal migration is the ‘Migrating Out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium’ (2010-2017)¹¹ funded by DFID which studies the relationship between regional migration, internal migration and poverty in six regions across Asia, Africa and Europe.

⁹ This raises the important issue about the impact of remittances on inequality in recipient countries, and suggests that international remittances may lead to increased inequality within countries (De Haan, 2006).

¹⁰ Subsequently published by the IOM (2005) ‘Internal Migration and Development – A Global Perspective’.

¹¹ See www.migratingoutofpoverty.org

However, rather than continuing to study internal and international migration separately and in isolation of one another (in research and policy), an emerging argument in the literature suggests that the interlinkages between internal and international migration and development should be explored¹² (Laczko, 2008: 8; de Haas, 2010; DeWind and Holdaway, 2008; DFID, 2007; Fitzgerald, 2006; Skeldon, 2008; Thieme, 2008). This move is signified in the International Organisation of Migration report (2008) titled *Migration and development within and across borders: research and policy perspectives on internal and international migration*. King and Skeldon (2010: 1619) argue that too often one form of migration (internal or international) is studied without reference to the other and that this yields a partial analysis. Skeldon (2008: 29), a key proponent of integrating internal and international migration, argues that “we need to bring studies of internal and international migration together in order more fully to understand the impact of migration on development”. The reasoning behind this being that “migrants’ journeys are becoming increasingly multiple, complex and fragmented” (King and Skeldon, 2010: 1619)¹³. Internal and international migration are linked, for example, through step-by-step migration, moving first internally to the capital and then subsequently to another country (Laczko, 2008; Thieme, 2008). The movements are also linked through networks: “internal and international migrants, families, and their networks are often linked with one another and they share resources both within and across national borders” (DeWind and Holdaway, 2008:17). Fitzgerald (2006) emphasises the overlap of themes and processes in transnational migration with internal migration. Fitzgerald questions whether ‘hometown associations’ which are considered the “quintessential ‘transnational’ institution” (p.8) are actually simply “a cross-border version of what anthropologists and historians have long known as ‘migrant village associations’ made up of *domestic* migrants from rural areas settling in cities” (Fitzgerald, 2006: 8).

Skeldon (2008) similarly asks whether home-town or migrant associations at provincial cities and national capitals for internal migrants are linked to those in

¹² Skeldon (2012: 45) explains that “those working on internal and those working on international migration generally worked quite independently of each other and had very little interaction”.

¹³ King and Skeldon (2010: 1622) distinguish 10 migration pathways or trajectories that connect internal and international migration, and return migration, in various sequenced relationships.

destinations of international migration. Fitzgerald (2006: 9) makes an important point suggesting that it is a question of the dynamics of movement:

“The point is *not* to claim that international and domestic migrations are the same, but rather to ask how and why they are different or similar in various domains. International migration is only inherently different from domestic migration insofar as the former is political by virtue of crossing state boundaries of territory and citizenship (Zolberg, 1999).... In both cases, the experience of being a stranger stimulates recourse to hometown ties for access to all kinds of practical and emotional resources”.

This quote also shows that it is important to retain a distinction between movement within and between countries because of the political nature of international migration. Not all people have the freedom to move internationally, most people lack both the economic resources and political rights to do so (Castles, 2010). Therefore ‘international migration’ should be retained in order to reflect “real power relations” (Castles, 2010: 1567). A consideration of the interconnections between internal and international migration also opens the window for different perspectives or literatures to speak to each other. I will argue later on in the chapter that insights from the transnational migration literature, especially the work on transnational families, can be usefully drawn upon in the study of movements within countries.

The term ‘internal migration’ can refer to a multitude of movements varying across space/place and time. Internal migration can refer to rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural and urban-urban flows, and these are further complicated by movement to/from small towns and peri-urban areas – a hybrid space that is not entirely rural or entirely urban (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004; IOM, 2005). Movements also differ in time, from temporary, seasonal, and circulatory movements, to more longer term and permanent ones. Movements are also distinguished according to whether they are forced (e.g. refugees, displacement) or voluntary movements. Recently there has been an increase in temporary and circular movements which cover a range of movements from trips of several months duration to daily commuting to work (Deshingkar, 2006; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004). Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) also identify a pattern of increasing urban-urban movements, and intra-metropolitan movements. This conveys the multitude and complexity of movements people engage in within

countries. Due to the diversity and complexity of forms or types of internal migration flows, I prefer to use the terms ‘mobility’ or ‘movement’ to refer to moves within countries. I draw on insights from the livelihoods literature to support this argument. Here, movements are understood as “integral parts of peoples’ and households’ livelihoods” (de Haan *et al*, 2002: 38). Movement or mobility is a common and key element in the livelihood strategies of many households in developing countries, poor as well as rich (de Haan, 1999, 2000; de Haan and Rogaly, 2002; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004; Kothari, 2002; MGP, 2009; Sorensen *et al*, 2002; Sorensen *et al*, 2003b; Waddington, 2003). It points to the importance of starting from “an assumption of population mobility”, this is because “as a rule, in most societies people are mobile, both rich and poor” (de Haan and Rogaly, 2002: 4). Taking this perspective, the focus then falls on the movements entailed in sustaining livelihoods, in making a living, rather than being concerned with slicing up movement into particular typologies of migration or migrants and studying these categories of migration in isolation from one another. As Kothari (2002: 20) argues, we need to capture “the dynamics and interconnectedness of population movements”. Geographical categories become less important than understanding the role movement plays in livelihood strategies, and indeed as de Haan (2000: 2) argues can even restrict our understanding of livelihoods. Olwig and Sorensen (2002: 2) argue that there should be an analytical shift in focus “from place to mobility, and from ‘place of origin’ and ‘place of destination’ to the movements involved in sustaining a livelihood”. The authors introduce the notion of ‘mobile livelihoods’ to reflect that the emphasis should instead be on the movements/practices involved in making a living:

“Central to our notion of mobile livelihoods is the great scope for variation and differentiated experiences that it entails. Mobile livelihoods may be practised over short or long distances, within states and within localities, and/or across national borders. Depending on the context, the study of mobile livelihoods may thus require a local, translocal or transnational perspective” (Olwig and Sorensen 2002: 10).

This emphasis on the movements entailed in sustaining livelihoods also brings a change of focus from viewing migrants as predominantly economic migrants¹⁴. As Kothari (2002: 8) argues “people adopt migration as a livelihood strategy for a variety of material *and* non-material reasons”. Similarly, de Haan and Yaqub (2009: 3) emphasise that “even in circumstances of poverty, migration responses are not simple responses driven by economic incentives”. De Haas (2010: 253) highlights the need to go beyond “economic interpretations or a narrow focus on labour migration” and argues that motivations of migrants are often more “complex, mixed and shifting”. De Haas suggests that all forms of migratory mobility should be considered (*ibid*). It is however also important to recognise that not everyone moves; it is important to consider those who stay behind as well as those who move, in other words the relationship between ‘mobility’ and ‘immobility’ (Kothari, 2002). Kothari (2003a: 607) explains that studies on migration and development

“rarely explore why some people stay put or are left behind in a context where others are moving, the consequences of staying put in an environment characterised by out-migration and the inter-dependent relationship between those who migrate and those who remain”.

In this section I have identified the need to revisit movements within countries and have argued that these movements should be central to the debate on migration and development. Informed by the emerging argument of the need to consider the interconnections between internal and international migration, and drawing on insights from the livelihoods literature that focus on the movements involved in sustaining livelihoods, I prefer to use the terms mobility or movement when referring to moves within countries. This is to avoid slicing up movement into typologies and focusing on one particular type of migration or migrant in isolation of another. I have stressed the importance of considering the multitude, complexity and diversity of movements within countries. This is a point which I will follow through in chapters three and four. I now turn to consider the other main limitation of the migration-development debate, the focus on economic development.

¹⁴ The HCIDC (2004) report focused on economic migrants because, they argue, “it is *economic* migration that links migration and development most clearly” (p.12, my emphasis). Similarly, the DFID (2007) report considers migration as an attempt to improve one’s *economic* situation.

2.4 The need for a broader notion of development

A further limitation of the migration-development nexus debate, as Piper (2009) argues, is that “the economic lens still predominates, treating migrants as economic actors” (p.94) and the debate is “still largely locked in economic considerations” (p.97). The debate has focused on economic or labour migration. In terms of the impact of out-migration (international) on developing countries, key publications and reports converge around several themes: flows of remittances, the role of diasporas in national development, and the potential for ‘brain gain’ through return migration and circulation¹⁵ (Castles and Delgado-Wise, 2007; DFID, 2007; HCIDC, 2004; OECD 2005, 2007; Sriskandarajah, 2005; Vammen and Bronden, 2012). Remittance flows have by far received the most attention to the extent that they have been referred to as a new ‘development mantra’ (Kapur, 2004). This is linked to “the belief that remittances can be channelled into economic investments that will overcome underdevelopment” (Castles and Delgado-Wise, 2007: 7), remittances are viewed as a key tool for poverty reduction (DFID, 2007). Amounts of remittance flows have reached such a level that they are greater than official development assistance (ODA) flows to low- and middle-income countries (de Haas, 2012)¹⁶. However, it is extremely difficult to estimate remittance flows due to the extensive use of unofficial, informal remittance channels by migrants (Adams and Page, 2005; HCIDC, 2004; Sriskandarajah, 2005)¹⁷. Sorensen (2007: 201) argues that “a solely economic remittance definition is too narrow to grasp the complex and manifold ways in which migrant transfers influence local development”. There has been some mention of the transfer of skills and attitudes to family and communities back

¹⁵ This represents a shift from a pessimistic concern with ‘brain drain’ to a focus on how source countries benefit from the human, physical and social capital that return migrants have acquired through their experiences in destination countries. In particular flexible systems of temporary and circular migration are being recommended by some governments (e.g. the UK and the Netherlands) to enhance ‘brain gain’ (HCIDC, 2004; de Haas, 2012; Vammen and Bronden, 2012).

¹⁶ The substantial growth in remittance flows over the past 20 years is documented by de Haas (2012: 9), drawing on World Bank statistics: in 1990 US\$24 billion was sent back by migrants to lower- and middle-income countries, in 2000 this amount increased to US\$59 billion, and in 2008 it had risen to US\$243. Although part of this increase, de Haas argues, can be attributed to improved measurement of remittances by central banks, “there is little doubt that there has also been a real increase” (de Haas, 2012: 9).

¹⁷ The World Bank estimates that “unrecorded flows through informal channels may conservatively add 50% (or more) of recorded flows” (2006: ix). This would make the size of remittance flows greater than foreign direct investment flows and more than double the official aid for developing countries (Castles and Delgado-Wise, 2007).

home, known as ‘social remittances’ (Levitt, 1996) which support development (DFID, 2007: 18; Vammen and Bronden, 2012). However this has been only slight in comparison to the attention paid to the economic development potential of monetary remittances. Batnitzky *et al* (2012) propose that a more social understanding of remittances is needed in order to better understand the link between remittances and development, for example, how familial and social relationships in sending and receiving areas influence and organise remittance behaviour. Migrant diasporas are defined as “being constituted by people dispersed among diverse destinations outside their home country” (Sorensen *et al*, 2002: 23). Diasporas are viewed by governments of migrants sending countries as “potential investors and actors of development” (de Haas, 2010: 227). Interest in diasporas can be linked with the literature on transnational migration which has grown substantially since the 1990s and which explores “migrants’ simultaneous engagement in countries of origin and destination” (Sorensen *et al*, 2002: 18). Transnationalism “broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states” (Vertovec, 1999: 447). Key roles or activities identified for diasporas include the transfer of ideas, knowledge, skills, charitable activities, investment in places of origin, building trade and business networks, and the role of migrant associations or Home Town Associations in promoting community development projects (Black and Sward, 2009; DFID, 2007; Sorensen *et al* 2002; Usher, 2005). The focus of the role of diasporas in national development is again focused on the economic and instrumental, on the provision of material and financial support to home communities.

The concern with remittances and economic development in origin countries “mirrors the dominant development paradigm, namely that of *economic development*” (Sorensen, 2012: 65; IOM, 2010; UNRISD, 2008). However, “migration involves far more than simple economic strategies and issues of material wellbeing” (Osella and Gardner, 2004: 1). There is a growing consensus that a greater appreciation of ‘non-economic’ issues is required alongside economic factors (de Haan and Yaqub, 2009)¹⁸. Whilst this has mainly been

¹⁸ For example, the UNRISD (2008) held an international workshop concerned with the impact of migration (international) on social development in Southern contexts. The workshop identified key non-monetary impacts of remittances that need attention including “impacts on health,

argued in relation to international migration, it is also relevant for studies of movements within countries. Non-economic aspects incorporate socio-cultural and psychological processes and outcomes (Smith, 2004: 265). There are signs that the space is being opened for a broader conception of development. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD, 2008: 6) workshop report (citing de Haas' contribution presentation) identifies the absence of a foundational debate on what the concept of development actually means:

“Whilst this concept (development) is almost never explicitly defined, most approaches to migration and development tend to be based on notions of development that focus on (gross) income indicators.

Consequently, the focus has been the impact of remittances on economic-growth and on investment in productive enterprises. This conventional focus is arbitrary, since remittances and, more generally, migration, impact on a wide range of societal issues beyond income” (UNRISD 2008: 6).

Similarly de Haan and Yaqub (2009) are critical of most research on migration-poverty linkages being focused on one dimension of poverty – its material dimension (e.g. income, consumption, remittances, assets). DeWind and Holdaway (2008: 367) also support a broader understanding of development:

“Development is often referred to in terms of ‘hard’ economic measures such as income growth and increases in GNP, but a broader understanding of development that goes beyond growth rates is needed to get at other important issues, including how migration can contribute to poverty alleviation, the stability of poor families, or the sustainability of vulnerable communities”.

The tide is starting to turn, as Willis (2012: vii) argues,

“recent migration and development research has moved away from a pure focus on financial remittances and towards a broader human development conceptualisation of the role of migration, particularly international migration”.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2009) Human Development Report ‘*Overcoming Barriers: Human mobility and development*’

education, gender, care arrangements, social structures and ethnic hierarchies in migrant communities and countries” (UNRISD, 2008: 5). It also emphasised the need to consider non-remittance impacts of migration on development, for example, the role of migrants and migration in social and cultural change in origin societies.

represents a key indicator that the direction in terms of how development is conceptualised is changing and filtering through. The report applies the capabilities approach (see de Haas and Rodriguez, 2010) to the study of international migration. This approach emphasises that development should improve a person's opportunities and enhance people's 'freedoms' or capabilities (Sen, 1999, in UNDP, 2009). The report views mobility as "vital to human development" and movement is regarded as "a natural expression of people's desire to choose how and where to lead their lives" (UNDP, 2009: 17). Ability to move is identified as "a dimension of freedom that is part of development" (UNDP, 2009: 15). Human development outcomes of mobility go beyond the economic/income measures to include education, health and empowerment and agency. The report highlights the potential of migration to enhance human capabilities and wellbeing (Castles, 2010). A recent report by the IOM (2010) on mainstreaming migration into development planning also takes on board a human development perspective. Here development is defined as

"a process of improving the overall quality of life of a group of people, and in particular expanding the range of opportunities open to them" (IOM, 2010: 10).

Further support for a broader understanding of development comes from Castles and Delgado-Wise (2007: 10) who question the meaningfulness of conventional measures of development in terms of growth in GDP per capita, and argue that

"listening to the voices of migrants and communities affected by migration may involve re-defining the goals and indicators of development to focus on human well-being, community and equality, rather than monetary wealth".

The next section of this chapter continues in this direction. The wider development community has increasingly recognised that development cannot be measured simply in terms of economic indicators (e.g. economic growth and GDP) (IOM, 2013: 84). More holistic approaches to development including the livelihoods approach, capabilities or human development approach, and multi-dimensional measures of poverty have emerged (McGregor and Sumner, 2010; White, 2010). Building on these approaches, a recent development has been a focus on "the significance of the concept of wellbeing for how we think about, measure and do 'development'" (McGregor and Sumner, 2010: 104). In the next

section I outline how a wellbeing perspective can take the migration-development debate forward, through offering a broader and more holistic notion of development.

2.5 A wellbeing perspective

The move towards a consideration of the significance of the concept of wellbeing for understanding and measuring development is evidenced by the Report of the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi, 2009; subsequently referred to as the Stiglitz report). The aim of the Commission was to “identify the limits of GDP as an indicator of economic performance and social progress, including the problems with its measurement” (Stiglitz *et al.*, 2009: 7). The report authors identify concerns about the adequacy and relevance of current measures of economic performance, especially those solely based on GDP, as measures of societal wellbeing (p.7): “it has long been clear that GDP is an inadequate metric to gauge well-being over time particularly in its economic, environmental, and social dimensions” (Stiglitz *et al.*, 2009: 8). Wellbeing is viewed as incorporating both economic resources (e.g. income) and “non-economic aspects of peoples’ life (what they do and what they can do, how they feel, and the natural environment they live in)” (Stiglitz *et al.*, 2009: 11). Thus, the key message and unifying theme of the report is that:

“the time is ripe for our measurement system to *shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people’s well-being*”

(Stiglitz *et al.*, 2009: 12, original emphasis)

The Stiglitz report has been central in placing wellbeing and subjective perspectives on the international political agenda (White *et al.*, 2012). A report by the OECD (2011) titled ‘*How’s life: measuring wellbeing report*’ studied factors affecting wellbeing including financial situation, employment, housing conditions, health, education, the environment and crime, as part of OECD’s ongoing concern to develop new measures for assessing wellbeing that go beyond GDP. The report finds that

“While income is a prime contributor, there are other factors that matter even more. Well-being is intrinsically linked to good health, a clean

environment, a strong sense of community and civic engagement, a home in good shape and a safe neighbourhood. ... high income alone does not ensure a good life. People in the richest countries are not necessarily the happiest, particularly when they suffer from low levels of social contact, trust in others or low personal safety” (OECD, 2011, www.oecd.org/newsroom/oecdlaunchesnewreportonmeasuringwell-being.htm).

Further indication of the significance of the concept of wellbeing for development is that as the development community considers the post-2015 development agenda (post Millenium Development Goals), the United Nations has proposed that wellbeing and sustainability should be at the centre of the global development framework (IOM, 2013).

Wellbeing has also emerged as an area of political and policy interest at the UK national level. This is evidenced by the UK Office for National Statistics Measuring National Wellbeing Programme, launched in 2010 (see <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/user-guidance/well-being/index.html>, see also Dolan *et al*, 2011). This development of a measure of national wellbeing (a national wellbeing index) goes wider than GDP to assess the nation’s wellbeing based on indicators in the areas of health, relationships, job-satisfaction, economic security, education, environmental conditions and measures of subjective wellbeing (an individual’s assessment of their own wellbeing). The UK government interest in wellbeing in international development was also evidenced by the funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) of a five year research programme entitled “Wellbeing in Developing Countries” (WeD) (2002-2007)¹⁹ (this will be further detailed below) and this interest has continued with a series of subsequent research programmes and projects including the ‘Religion and Development’ programme (White and Devine, 2007-2010) and the ‘Wellbeing and Poverty Pathways’ research project (2010-2013) funded jointly by the ESRC and DFID²⁰. These developments reveal that the ‘discursive space’ for discussing and raising issues relating to wellbeing is opening (Copestake, 2008a; White *et al*, 2012). There is also a growing area of literature specifically supporting a wellbeing approach in international development (White *et al*, 2012:

¹⁹ For more information about the research group refer to the website www.welldev.org.uk

²⁰ See www.wellbeingpathways.org See also Devine and Deneulin (2011).

764, citing Alkire, 2002; McGillivray 2006, 2007; Gough and McGregor, 2007; Copestake, 2008, 2011; Camfield *et al.*, 2009; Clark, 2009; McGregor and Sumner, 2010; White, 2010).

As I explained in the introduction, this thesis started its life with the work of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) research group. It is the WeD conception of wellbeing (Gough *et al.*, 2007; McGregor, 2007) along with its subsequent articulation (McGregor and Sumner, 2010; White, 2010) that has informed this thesis. The WeD research programme set out to develop a conceptual and methodological framework for understanding the social and cultural construction of wellbeing in four diverse countries: Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru and Thailand. The initial WeD wellbeing framework was based on the integration of three main strands of theory: Doyal and Gough's (1991) 'Theory of Human Need' (see Gough *et al.*, 2007: 13-16); the 'Resource Profiles Framework' (Lawson *et al.*, 2000; see Gough *et al.*, 2007: 17-24); thirdly, it drew upon ideas of 'subjective wellbeing', 'life satisfaction', 'quality of life' and 'happiness', all of which place subjective evaluations and perceptions at the centre (Gough *et al.*, 2007: 25-33; Skevington, 2002). It was concerned to combine 'objective' aspects of people's circumstances (e.g. objective indicators of income, nutrition, life expectancy) with people's own subjective perceptions of these (White, 2010). Building on these frameworks of needs, resources and quality of life, the WeD group defined wellbeing as:

“a state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals, and where one enjoys a satisfactory quality of life” (WeD, 2007)

Wellbeing is viewed as arising from three interconnected dimensions:

the material: what people have or do not have;

the relational: what people can do or cannot do with what they have;

the subjective: how people think or feel about what they can do and be

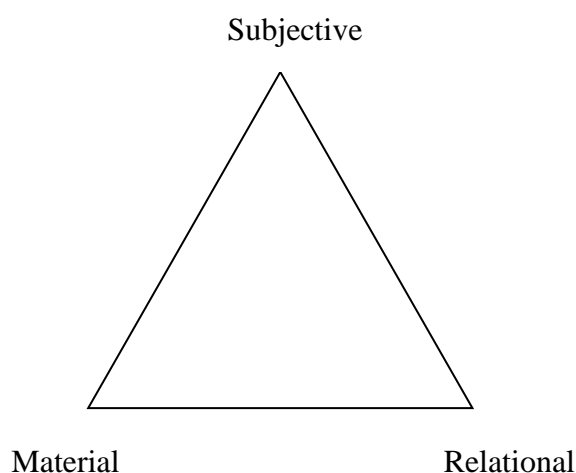
(McGregor, 2007: 317; White, 2010).

In focusing on what people can do, can be and feel, the wellbeing approach asserts a positive view rather than a focus on deficits in what people have and can do which has typically characterised poverty studies (McGregor and Sumner, 2010: 106). Wellbeing is conceived of as a *process*, it is “realised through the ‘work’ that people put into making meaning out of their lives” (White, 2010: 165).

People are viewed as “constrained but active agents”, involved in the ongoing social and cultural construction of wellbeing for themselves and their communities (Camfield and McGregor, 2005: 189). People’s ideas of wellbeing change through time – both historical time and throughout the lifecycle (White, 2010). Space is also an important dimension. “People’s understandings of and capacities to achieve wellbeing depend critically on the geography of the space they are in” (White, 2010: 166). Space is constantly changing and variable with daily commuting to work or school to longer-term movements for employment, marriage or care-based relationships (*ibid*, p.166). The moving and changing spaces entailed in processes of mobility provide a particularly interesting context in which to explore dynamics of wellbeing over time.

As already stated, wellbeing draws together the dimensions of the material, relational, and subjective. Drawing on White (2008, 2009, 2010) I understand these dimensions as follows. The material dimension concerns practical welfare and standards of living; it incorporates income, wealth and assets, employment and livelihood activities, housing, education and skills, physical health and (dis)ability, access to services and amenities, and environmental quality. The relational concerns personal and social relations; it incorporates relations of love and care, networks of support and obligation, social and cultural identities and inequalities, and violence and conflict; the subjective concerns perceptions, experience and values; it incorporates aspirations, hopes and fears, emotions, what people experience and feel about their lives, and cultural values, ideologies and beliefs. The WeD approach places emphasis on the interplay between these dimensions rather than viewing them in separation. McGregor and Sumner (2010: 105) argue “traditional, disciplinary social science approaches to development have tended to take these different dimensions of people’s lives apart to study them in isolation from each other”. However, central to the WeD approach is an understanding that “the material, relational and subjective dimensions of our lives are co-evolving, interdependent and dynamically interacting” (McGregor and Sumner, 2010: 106). To express this interdependence and relationship White (2008, 2010) uses a ‘wellbeing triangle’.

Diagram 1: Dimensions of wellbeing



Source: White (2010: 162)

White (2008) argues that none of the dimensions can exist without the others and that any specific item will comprise some element of all dimensions. For example, to take the example of coca leaves in the Peru context. The growing and harvesting of coca leaves is an important livelihood activity; coca leaves also have cultural value, for rural-urban migrants for example coca leaves are a link to their Andean origins where coca is chewed and brewed for tea. Chewing coca leaves is also a social practice, as Tamagno (2002: 111) describes, female neighbours in an urban neighbourhood in Huancayo, central Peru, meet up and ‘chew coca leaves’, they ‘loosen up’ and “share the intimacies of their daily lives” including their personal problems, relationships with husbands, concerns about their children, or relationships with other neighbours. Wellbeing is understood as significantly shaped by the socio-cultural context (e.g. wider societal norms and gender ideologies), it is grounded in “a particular social and cultural location” (White, 2010: 161). The socio-cultural context shapes all three dimensions of wellbeing. Migration processes are also significantly shaped by context, including social and cultural values, local customs and ideologies (de Haan, 1999, 2000, 2006).

There is also evidence that the ‘discursive space’ for a consideration of wellbeing is opening in the migration-development agenda. Wright (2010, 2011, 2012) builds on the wellbeing approach of the WeD group in her research on Peruvian migrants living in London and Madrid and their relatives and close friends in Peru. Wright investigates what migrants identify as important for ‘living well’ [*vivir bien*] in Madrid and London and how far migration has enabled

them to meet their multiple needs and achieve their goals. Wright (2012) broadly employs the distinction of material, subjective, and relational dimensions of wellbeing although prefers to refer to them as the domains of ‘functional’ (employment and housing), ‘perceptual’ (values and emotional dimensions), and ‘relational’ (intimate relations and broader social relationships). Wright (2010: 368) asserts that although there are clear benefits to international migration in the material domain, “these need to be balanced against deeper losses and multiple obstacles in other aspects of human wellbeing”. This points to the tensions and trade-offs that can occur between the different dimensions of wellbeing. Wright (2010: 377) points to “the central importance of social relationships in the construction of human wellbeing” and argues that “overcoming barriers to relatedness and finding ways to enhance the quality of relationships was perceived as critically important for ‘living well’”. Wright and Black (2011) specifically argue for a human wellbeing approach to be incorporated into the migration-development/poverty nexus. A human-wellbeing approach, they argue, can offer “greater holism in analysis by considering the interaction between material and psychosocial dimensions” (Wright and Black, 2011: 555). In considering the range of impacts of the 2008 global financial crisis on migrant wellbeing, they identify psychosocial impacts in terms of changes in intra-household relationships, including greater strain placed on marital relations within households and increased domestic violence. These impacts are linked to the stresses of coping with high prices and the threat of unemployment (Wright and Black, 2011). The most recent indication of wellbeing entering the migration-development debate is the publication of the World Migration Report 2013 entitled ‘*Migrant Wellbeing and Development*’. This report shifts the focus from remittances and the impact of migration on economic life and trade to the wellbeing of migrants (international) and their quality of life (IOM, 2013: 35). The report draws on the Gallup World Poll which assesses the overall wellbeing of migrants. It compares migrants and native populations in destinations, and migrants and similar people who remain in the origin country and do not migrate, for 150 countries. The poll combines questions on objective elements of people’s lives – income level, housing, working conditions, nutrition and on subjective perceptions, feelings and impressions of satisfaction with their lives (IOM, 2013: 24). Five main contributors to a person’s wellbeing are identified: career, social connections,

financial, physical (health), and community (*ibid*). Paralleling the WeD wellbeing perspective, these elements are viewed as being interdependent, they need to “be considered together to reveal a complete picture of migrants’ wellbeing” (IOM, 2013: 111). The report recommends developing a ‘Global Migration Barometer’ to regularly monitor the wellbeing of migrants across the globe. The report emphasises the experiential dimension of migration and the place for migrants to ‘tell their stories’ (IOM, 2013: 24). It identifies the need to focus on migrants as persons and on how the migration experience has affected their lives in positive or negative ways (IOM, 2013: 175). It is this experiential and subjective dimension where the distinctiveness of a wellbeing approach lies and which I take forward in order to study mobility.

These discussions of wellbeing have opened up the ‘discursive space’ (Copestake, 2008a) to think and talk about aspects of life which are important but not normally captured, or are often side-lined. I do not seek to use wellbeing as a rigid framework for analysis, for example, in terms of the development and measurement of key domains or indicators of wellbeing in relation to migration/mobility. Instead, I use these discussions of wellbeing to identify and justify the need to consider non-economic aspects of the lives of those who are on the move. I employ wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’ which opens up spaces to consider and focus on these important aspects of people’s lives which are often neglected. Wellbeing offers a ‘discursive platform’ from which to consider the non-economic dimensions of life alongside the economic. McGregor and Sumner (2010: 106) emphasise that the ‘business as usual’ approach to development policy tends to focus on the material dimension and underplay or ignore the relational and subjective dimensions of human wellbeing. The same can be said of the migration-development debate which has been focused on economic considerations predominantly through focusing on economic migration and flows of remittances. I use wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’ to consider the relational and subjective/experiential dimensions of mobility. The next two sections focus on exploring further these two dimensions of wellbeing. I also seek to support a focus on these non-economic dimensions through showing how the wider migration literature is identifying similar issues as important to understandings of migration. Although these insights come predominantly from the international

migration literature, I argue that they are also relevant for the study of movements within countries.

2.5.1 Relational dimension

“When people talk of what is important in their wellbeing, questions around key relationships crop up with great frequency There is now considerable evidence from around the world suggesting that relationships lie at the very heart of wellbeing concerns (Devine *et al* 2008; White, 2010)” (Devine and Deneulin, 2011: 69).

Research of the WeD group and subsequent studies all point to the centrality of relatedness in peoples’ lives (Camfield *et al* 2006, 2007; Devine *et al*, 2008; White, 2010). For example, relations within the household or among kin in terms of having a ‘good marriage’ or support in old age, branching out to community relations (e.g. caste relations) and political connections (Devine *et al*, 2008; Devine and Deneulin, 2011; White, 2010). White (2010: 160-161) explains that this significance of the relational is “strongly confirmed by standard numerical indices of wellbeing, which link low quality of life with social exclusion and personal isolation, and high quality of life with social connectedness”.

Camfield *et al* (2007: 87) explain that “often when dealing with the world of relationships, development researchers use abstract and instrumental concepts such as ‘social capital’ or ‘social resources’”. Social resources refer to the personal social networks and relationships that individuals and households utilise in order to maintain and improve their wellbeing (McGregor, 2000). Social capital is often equated with social resources and social networks and refers to “the social networks available to people to access and mobilise resources” (Rao and Walton 2004: 16). Whilst social capital is a contested concept, in general it has been largely conceived in economic terms and is concerned with the instrumentalism of social networks in terms of helping people to generate and access resources (Edwards *et al*, 2003; Franklin, 2007). Thus, “increasing one’s social capital or deploying one’s social resources are seen as effective livelihood strategies, especially for those who are income poor or have few material resources” (Camfield *et al*, 2007: 87). The World Bank has promoted social

capital as a key form of capital that poor people can utilise to move out of poverty (World Bank, 2000). In particular, ‘the family’ is identified as a key source of social capital, being emphasised as “a means of strengthening grassroots ‘social capital’ and maintaining survival in conditions of economic insecurity” (Chant, 2003: 166). However, social capital has been criticised as “a balance sheet approach to social relationships” (Franklin, 2007: 5-6; Menjivar, 2000), asking how much or how little social capital or trust people have. As Camfield *et al* (2007: 87) argue, although these perspectives do provide important insights into people’s efforts to secure a livelihood, “they often overlook the everyday meanings, pleasures, and strengths people derive from their interactions and connections with others”, pointing to the intrinsic value of relationships.

As I have already argued, the migration-development debate has focused on the development potential of migration through flows of remittances, the instrumental value of connections between migrants and non-migrants. In the wider migration literature more generally, the strength of migrant social networks²¹, which are also viewed as important sources of social capital²² has been emphasised, for example in terms of facilitating and stimulating migration. The positive, cohesive and instrumental nature of ties has been the focus: networks as channels for the flow of resources or to access resources and capitals, for example in terms of accessing financial, material, informational and emotional assistance and support (Menjivar, 2000). Mahler and Pessar (2006: 33) are critical of the social networks approach arguing that social networks have tended to be viewed as “organised largely upon norms of social solidarity, and gender was often ignored”. In the 1990s, with increasing volumes of international migration and building on the social networks perspective, the transnational migration approach emerged. The transnational migration approach is concerned not only

²¹ Migrant social networks can be defined as “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Massey *et al*, 1998: 42). The social networks approach in migration theory which emerged in the 1980s emphasised the significance of social networks for adaptation, integration and adjustment in the receiving area, for example providing help with housing, money, information, with establishing social connections, and emotional support (Choldin, 1973; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Goldscheider, 1987; Gurak and Caces, 1992; Hugo, 1981; Massey *et al*, 1998). It also found the presence of extensive networks linking sending and receiving communities, connecting migrants and their place of origin and emphasised the role of these networks in stimulating migration (Goldscheider, 1987; Gurak and Caces, 1992; MacDonald and MacDonald, 1974; Massey *et al*, 1998; Tilly and Brown, 1974).

²² Ryan *et al* (2008: 673) argue that “social capital and networks are frequently seen as synonymous”.

with economic ties but also with transnational familial, social, political, organisational and religious links that span borders (Glick Schiller *et al*, 1992, in Sorensen *et al* 2003a: 17). This approach has enriched migration studies beyond the economic emphasising relational and cultural categories (Thieme, 2008). However, emphasis has, in general, similarly been placed on the positive and cohesive nature of relationships and networks. Menjivar's (2000) seminal work on the complex nature of network ties among immigrants from El Salvador living in the United States represents an important break from this trend. Menjivar (2000: 235) argues that the migration literature on social networks has generally treated "the existence of cohesive and immutable networks as a given" and argues that "the assumption that these ties (social networks) are omnipresent and viable resources needs close scrutiny". Menjivar emphasises (2000: 34) that

"an overemphasis on the resilience and strength of immigrant social networks has led to the neglect not only of the potential for conflict and tension in these ties but also of the fact that they may be transformed, or reconstituted, or may even weaken and breakdown at the destination point".

Tapias and Escandell (2011) are also critical of the positive focus of the literature:

"the literature is also replete with examples of seemingly harmonious migrant communities who provide assistance to fellow migrants and to their home communities through hometown associations and networks of support. While not downplaying the contributions such associations make to sending communities ... our analysis seeks to upset images solely based on cohesion and unity among migrants" (Tapias and Escandell, 2011: 76-77).

Similarly, Sorensen and Guarnizo (2007: 160) highlight a limitation among the transnational migration literature that has tended to concentrate

"on cases in which migration is generally described as being successful in maintaining family allegiances through a constant circulation of family members and in functioning rather smoothly across borders".

Echoing these concerns, Ryan (2010: 83) argues "the actual extent of transnational living needs to be carefully examined and researched". Ryan *et al* (2008: 685) have pointed to the need to capture

“the dynamism, diversity and spatial dispersion of migrant’s social networks. As Vertovec (2001) argues, bringing together literature on social networks, social capital and transnationalism requires a deeper understanding of how migrants’ networks actually operate in practice”.

A more dynamic approach is required to explore how relationships work in practice, how networks are developed and sustained, and when and why relations weaken or breakdown (Menjívar, 2000; White and Ryan, 2008). Evergeti and Ryan (2011: 357) argue

“What is missing from more recent theoretical literature on transnationalism are the ways in which migrants and their families negotiate such long-distance relationships and the difficulties they encounter in doing so. In addition, it is important to acknowledge that transnational social relations may not necessarily provide positive sources of support and caregiving, but instead may place a heavy demand, both financial and emotional, on migrants (Ryan 2004, 2007)”.

These arguments and insights have mainly been made in reference to international migrants, however, I view these arguments as also applicable to the nature of networks and relationships in the context of moves within countries as well as those that traverse national boundaries. This follows Coe’s (2011b) criticism that much scholarship on the impacts of transnational migration on family life has overlooked processes of internal migration. Coe (2011b: 148) raises the important question: “how different is transnational migration from internal migration in its impact on family life?”

The conception of the relational dimension of wellbeing can offer a more nuanced understanding of relationships to address some of these limitations. Here, the relational prioritises power hierarchies, axes of difference and negotiations in relationships. Importantly, the relational is considered without being co-joined with the terms ‘capital’ or ‘resources’ which immediately implies instrumental or economic value and as having beneficial outcomes, a positive focus (Francis, 2002). The relational dimension of wellbeing underlines and “re-situates the significance of social structure and power relations” (White, 2010: 164). It acknowledges that even relations of love and care within a family are not always egalitarian but often hierarchical (White, 2010). Family relations and wider support networks can entail force, violence, exploitation and abuse (*ibid*).

As Mason (2004) argues, although relationships can be warm and supportive connections with others, they can also entail constraint, conflict, or isolation. Thus, a wellbeing perspective brings sensitivity to relationships being also a source of harm:

“Relationships are a key locus of power and therefore it is important not to naively romanticise the way we think about poor people’s relationships”, many of these relationships are “hierarchical, exploitative, and sometimes violent” (Camfield *et al*, 2006: 25).

It therefore draws attention to the ‘dark-side’ of relationships and networks, as sources of conflict, constraint, and harm, emphasising the centrality of power and inequality in relationships. The relational dimension to wellbeing also incorporates social divisions and inequalities, “structural differences of age, sex, race and class remain important predictors of difference in opportunities and wellbeing” (White, 2010: 164). These axes or structures of difference intertwine and also fundamentally affect the way migration is experienced (Mahler and Pessar, 2006; Osella and Gardner, 2004)²³.

White (2010) also emphasises how relations need to be realised in social practice which often involves negotiation, and identifies this as particularly important in the context of migration and mobility where ‘normal’ rules of family togetherness are challenged. This addresses the need to consider how migrants’ networks actually operate and work in practice (Ryan *et al*, 2008). The literature on transnational families²⁴ has placed emphasis on how the physical distance and lack of physical encounters mean that transnational families have to construct their notion of a family more deliberately, “rather than taking it for granted through continuous day-to-day interaction” (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002: 15). This literature has considered how spatially dispersed families become reconfigured, reconstituted and reformed with transnational migration (Evergeti and Zontini, 2006; Ryan, 2004). Again, I regard insights from the literature on

²³ Research and scholarship on gender and migration has revealed the importance of intra-household power dynamics between men and women (for example, see Radcliffe, 1986, 1992; Chant 1992, 2003; Elmhirst, 2002; Mahler and Pessar, 2001, 2006).

²⁴ Transnational families have been defined as “families that live some or most of the time separated from each other yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely ‘family hood’, even across national borders” (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002: 3).

transnational families as relevant to families that live separated/spatially dispersed from each other within countries as well as between countries.

By prioritising power hierarchies, axes of difference in relationships, and negotiations, the relational dimension of wellbeing addresses the need identified in the migration literature to recognise intra-household dynamics (e.g. age, gender and other other inequalities) and negotiations in migration decisions and processes, and the need to recognise the potential for disharmony and conflicting interests in households (Contreras and Griffith, 2012; de Haas, 2010; Elmhirst, 2002; Sorensen, 2007). As Tapias and Escandell (2011: 76) stress, discord in migrant households and conflict in gender hierarchies needs to be recognised, that households are not “cohesive units based solely on an ethics of reciprocity, consensus and altruism”. The growing body of literature on transnational families also addresses these concerns bringing out the dynamics of relationships and offering a more balanced perspective (Bryceson and Vourela, 2002; Evergeti and Zontini, 2006; Goulbourne, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2005; Pribilsky, 2004; Reynolds and Zontini, 2006; Ryan *et al*, 2009; Zontini, 2004, 2010). The related emergent literature on ‘global care chains’ takes a less positive approach, showing how migration can be problematic not only for marital life but also for the children left behind who may suffer a ‘care drain’ (Sorensen and Guarnizo, 2007: 160-161).

2.5.2 Subjective dimension

The subjective dimension is where the distinctiveness of the wellbeing approach lies. Dolan *et al* (2011) explain that subjective wellbeing (SWB) is often measured by asking people about their happiness on a scale of 0-10. However, the WeD understanding of the subjective entails more than ‘happiness’. White (2010: 160) argues that the subjective constitutes the “signature move of a wellbeing approach” and draws attention to “people’s own perceptions and experience of life”. A central argument of the World Migration Report 2013 is a call for a focus on the experiential dimension of migration. The subjective dimension of wellbeing refers to “what people actually experience and feel about their lives” (IOM, 2013: 37). Subjectivity refers to the intangible, non-material, and experiential dimensions of life (Mama, 1995). It necessarily incorporates emotions, the affective dimension and feelings. The subjective dimension builds

on participatory approaches in development²⁵, and in particular the influential work of Chambers “on the need for the development profession to listen to the voices of poor people and to their perceptions and feelings about poverty” (McGregor and Sumner, 2010: 105). People’s own aspirations and experience of life are viewed as central to how they conceive and struggle for wellbeing (McGregor and Sumner, 2010: 105).

The subjective also crucially incorporates cultural values, ideologies and beliefs. Culture penetrates the subjective shaping and moulding people’s perceptions (White, 2009). White and Pettit (2004) draw on Bourdieu’s notion of ‘habitus’ to argue that people are not governed by conscious calculation but that social structures are deeply internalised and unconsciously shape experiences. Ortner (2005: 44) explains

“For Bourdieu, the subject internalises the structures of the external world, both culturally defined and objectively real. These internalised structures form a habitus, a system of dispositions that incline actors to act, think, and feel in ways consistent with the limits of the structure”

The subjective therefore entails an understanding of and sensitivity to these internalised social and cultural formations and how these shape perceptions, thoughts and experiences (Luhrmann, 2006, citing Ortner, 2005). We need to be sensitive to “the way the local shapes our lives so deeply that we have no sense of being caught within its net” (Luhrmann, 2006: 348).

There is also an identified gap in the migration literature for a subjective focus. As Berg (2004: 12) argues, the migration literature

“has largely failed to engage with the question of how migration is *experienced* by the actors affected by it, i.e. not just the migrants themselves, but their families, friends and wider communities in which they take part”

Berg (2004) points to a lack of research in Latin America on the subjective experiences and subjective meaning of migration for migrants and their kin, and “how migration is fuelled by the imagination” (p.11). A subjective focus necessarily brings in feelings and emotions. Svašek (2010: 867) argues

²⁵ Examples of participatory studies which focus on how people living in poverty view their situation include the World Bank Voices of the Poor Study (2000) and Participatory Poverty Assessments (UNDP, 2009).

“if we want to unravel and understand the social, economic, political and experiential complexities of human mobility and belonging, it is necessary to include a focus on emotions”.

Several authors are critical of the absence of the emotional and affective dimensions in work and research on migration processes, including transnationalism (Boehm and Swank, 2011; Gardner, 2012; Mai and King, 2009; Ryan, 2008, 2010). Mai and King (2009: 297) explain that the mainstream research paradigms of economics and sociology, anthropology and cultural studies “sideline the role of emotions, feelings, and affect in the motivation and experience of migration”. The consequence of this is that

“emotional relations are regarded as something apart from the economic or the geographic, as something essentially private, removed from the researcher’s gaze traditionally fixed on spatial mobility patterns, push-pull factors, the ‘laws’ of migration, the mobility transition, assimilation/integration and the cross-cultural encounter (Anderson and Smith, 2001: 8)” (p.297).

There is an emergent argument in the literature calling for an ‘emotional turn’ in migration studies (Boehm and Swank, 2011; Conradson and McKay, 2007; Mai and King, 2009; Skrbis, 2008; Svašek, 2008, 2010)²⁶. Although this area of literature has focused on transnational/international migration, I also view these arguments as being of relevance to mobility within countries as families become separated by often vast distances. Emotional dynamics, the ‘felt dimensions’ of mobility, are identified as integral and central features of transnational families, transnational migration and international mobility (Conradson and McKay, 2007; Gardner, 2012; Svašek, 2010). Emotions of happiness, sadness, frustration, excitement and ambivalence that accompany mobility shape experiences of the world and relations with others (Conradson and McKay, 2007). In relation to transnational families, Skrbis (2008) views emotions as inseparable from understanding transnational families for two reasons, firstly, due to the “existence of emotional ties that inevitably link individuals to families” (p.236). Secondly, due to “the fundamental nature of the migration experience itself”, in terms of

²⁶ This is marked by several Journal special issues on human mobility and emotion (e.g. Conradson and McKay, 2007, *Mobilities*; Svašek, 2008, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*), on ‘love, sexuality and migration’ (Mai and King, 2009, *Mobilities*), and ‘affecting global movement: the emotional terrain of transnationality’ (Boehm and Swank, 2011. *International Migration*).

dissociating individuals from their family and friendship networks (p.236). Emotions are thus viewed as a *constitutive* part of experiences of mobility (Skrbis, 2008; Svašek, 2010; Boehm and Swank, 2011).

These references emphasise that emotions are inseparable from understanding transnational families and relationships, they point to the intertwinement of emotions and relationships. As I have already argued, it is the interplay between the dimensions of material, relational and subjective that is central to the WeD understanding of wellbeing. Scholars supporting an ‘emotional turn’ in migration studies also draw attention to the inseparable nature of these dimensions. As Mai and King (2009: 297) illustrate:

“Indeed, how productive and possible is it to separate a migrant’s desire to improve the economic wellbeing of her/his family from the feelings of love, loyalty and respect this elicits, or from existing gendered understandings of responsibility, morality and care?”.

Coe (2011a: 7) explores the interlinking of economic and emotional ties in Ghanaian transnational families, in particular, how love is signalled through material exchanges. Coe conveys the need to consider the interaction of these dimensions in relationships:

“Rather than putting economics and intimacy into separate domains or subsuming intimate relations to economic ones, Viviana Zelizer (2005) argues that we need to understand how intimate relations and economic transactions intertwine”. (2011a: 8-9)

2.6 Conclusion: wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’

This chapter started by locating the thesis in the migration-development debate. I argued for a renewed focus on population movements occurring within poorer countries which have been sidelined in the debate. This is based on the volume of people involved and because the poorest tend to move within rather than between countries (de Haan and Yaqub, 2009; Sorensen *et al*, 2003). Due to the multiplicity and complexity of movements within poorer countries, I have argued that mobility and movement are more appropriate terms and have supported a focus on the range of movements or mobilities entailed in making a living and sustaining livelihoods, rather than to slice movements into typologies

and study these in isolation of one another. Indeed, use of the term migration implies a need to define the particular type of migration being studied (e.g. rural-urban, temporary or permanent). A further limitation of the migration-development debate has been the dominance of concerns relating to economic development through a focus on remittance flows from richer to poorer countries and I have identified calls for a broader notion of development within the debate.

I showed how the ‘discursive space’ is growing within the development community and within the migration-development debate, for the significance of wellbeing for understanding development beyond GDP and economic growth, to consider the non-economic aspects of people’s lives alongside the economic. Drawing on the WeD notion of wellbeing and its subsequent articulations, I outlined wellbeing as arising from three interconnected dimensions: the material (assets, welfare and standards of living), the relational (personal and social relations, social and cultural identities, and inequalities, violence and conflict), and the subjective (perceptions, experience, emotions as well as cultural values, ideologies and beliefs) (White, 2008; 2009; 2010: 161). Wellbeing is person-centred, Camfield and McGregor (2005: 189) argue that people should be viewed as “constrained but active agents” constructing wellbeing for themselves, their families and their communities. Wellbeing is also understood as significantly shaped by the socio-cultural context. I argued that rather than using wellbeing as a tight framework for analysis, for example, in terms of devising, measuring and analysing wellbeing indicators or domains, I employ wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’ to consider important aspects of people’s lives which are often neglected, underplayed, sidelined or ignored, the non-economic dimensions (subjective and relational) of mobility and wellbeing.

I have drawn on White’s (2008; 2009; 2010) conception of the relational and have argued that through prioritising power hierarchies, negotiations and axes of difference in relationships it addresses some of the limitations identified in the way migrant networks have been portrayed in the migration-development debate and the wider migration literature. The subjective dimension is where the distinctiveness of the wellbeing approach lies. The subjective incorporates what people actually experience and feel about their lives (IOM, 2013), it necessarily brings in emotions, the affective dimension. It is also concerned with how culture permeates the subjective through cultural values, ideas and beliefs. I identified an

argument in the migration literature for a subjective focus, and in particular an emerging argument for an ‘emotional turn’ in migration studies – a focus on emotions, feelings and affect in migration experiences. I have argued that insights from the literature on international migration, especially the transnational migration and transnational families literature, can be usefully drawn upon in the study of moves within countries, where families can also be separated by vast distances. In this thesis I draw on wellbeing as a ‘sensitising lens’ to explore the relational-subjective/emotional dimensions of mobility.

Chapter 3 The Peru context: Migration, mobility and rural-urban interconnections.

3.1 Introduction and background.

This chapter takes an historical perspective to detail the periodic shifts in research on migration and mobility in Peru and to outline the main themes arising from this research in order to situate this thesis within the Peru context. Whilst in the previous chapter I identified my preference for the use of the terms mobility and movement rather than migration, I have retained use of the term migration here to reflect how movement has been spoken about and analysed in the literature. As will be seen, research has gradually moved from a concern with migration and migrants to alternative conceptions of movement and mobile people. This section starts by providing a background context of the country. Peru is administratively divided into 25 departments which are subdivided into 195 provinces and 1833 districts (see p.119 for map of Peru). Three broad geographical landscapes divide the country into the *costa* [coast], *sierra* [highlands], and the *selva* [rainforest]²⁷. The *costa* refers to the narrow coastal plain and the western slopes of the Andes up to a height of 1,950m; the *sierra* to the Andes mountains above 1,950m; and the *selva* to the eastern slopes of the Andes (the upper or mountain *selva*, ‘*selva-alta*’) and the Amazon headwaters (the ‘*selva baja*’) (Lloyd, 1980: 17). This diverse geographical landscape provides Peru with a wealth of natural resources including mineral reserves, oil, gas, fish resources and diverse agriculture. In terms of mineral reserves, Peru has become the world’s second largest producer of silver, the third of zinc, copper and tin, the fourth of lead and molybdenum, and the fifth of gold (Arellano-Yanguas, 2008; Bury, 2007)²⁸. At the time of the fieldwork for this thesis, Peru was classified as a middle-income country, falling into the category of countries of ‘medium human development’ with a Human Development Index ranking of 87 (UNDP 2007/2008 report). The 2009 Human Development Report raises Peru to a country of high human development with an increased HDI ranking of 78 (UNDP, 2009), in 2012

²⁷ Although some authors argue that this classification into three geographic zones is not sufficient to encompass Peru’s geographic diversity. For example, Escobal and Torero (2003) identify many diverse ecological areas including 84 different climate zones and landscapes.

²⁸ The impact of intensifying mining operations in Peru on local communities and leading to social conflict is a current key concern (see Peru Support Group, www.perusupportgroup.org.uk; also Bebbington *et al*, 2007).

the country was ranked 77 (UNDP, 2013). However, despite these rankings, a period of sustained economic growth throughout the 2000s, and relative political stability through three democratic changes in government since 2001 (Toledo 2001-2006; Garcia 2006-2011, Humala 2011 to present), the country remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, and although poverty rates have been on a declining trajectory, the country has “a higher rate of poverty than its economic status suggests it should have” (Copestake, 2008b: 2). Peru is characterised by persistent deep inequality, widespread poverty, and discrimination against the indigenous population (Crabtree, 2002; Copestake and Wood, 2008; Paredes, 2007). Central to understanding social relations in Peru is the period of Spanish colonialism from 1532 to 1821 which left an enduring legacy of ethnic, race and class inequalities (Crabtree, 2002; Paerregaard, 2008). Alvarez *et al* (2008: 39) identify the emergence of a racialised class hierarchy between *blanco* [white of Spanish birth], *criollo* [white of Peruvian birth], *mestizo* [mixed Spanish and indigenous], and *indio* [indigenous] categories. These class and ethnic inequalities map on to the geographical landscape, such that Quechua and Aymara indigenous populations who live in the *sierra* in mainly rural areas (or who come from there), find themselves at “the bottom of a social, political and economic hierarchy that is anchored on the coast and traditionally embodied ... in the Spanish-*criollo* capital, Lima” (Turino, 1993: 3).

Population movement has been an enduring feature of Peru’s history. Movement from the countryside was common within the Inca Empire and increased during Spanish colonial times (Gilbert, 1998; Saignes, 1995; Skeldon, 1990). Throughout the 20th century migration gained momentum, especially rural-urban movement, and has been one of the major factors in the social transformation of Peruvian society. The table below reveals that in the period from 1940-2007 Peru has changed from a predominantly rural and *sierra* based population to an urban and coastal one (INEI, 1995, 2008).

Table 3.1: The geographical spread of the population in Peru between 1940 and 2007

% of population living in:	1940	1993	2007
Urban areas	35.5%	70.1%	75.9%
Rural areas	64.5%	29.9%	24.1%
The <i>costa</i>	28.3%	52.4%	54.6%
The <i>sierra</i>	65%	34.8%	32%
The <i>selva</i>	6.7%	12.8%	13.4%

Source: INEI (1995; 2008)

The percentage of the population living in urban areas has doubled whilst that living in rural areas has more than halved. The share of the population living on the coast and in the *selva*²⁹ has roughly doubled whilst the proportion living in the *sierra* has halved. Migration “continues to be a defining feature of the Peruvian landscape” (Leinaweaver, 2008a: 160), movement has become a necessary and integral aspect of Peruvian livelihoods (Paerregaard, 1997; Sorensen, 2002).

This chapter will detail two main periods of research. Firstly, the proliferation of migration studies between the 1970s and early 1990s identifying push factors from rural areas and pull factors in destinations, the importance of social networks, and the continuation of Andean cultural practices and cultural identity in the urban setting. Secondly, research through the 1990s and 2000s which reveals that mobility has enabled the combining of rural and urban worlds through circulation around multiple localities. The more recent literature has focused almost exclusively on international migration and has emphasised the connections between movements within the country and international movements.

3.2 Patterns and motivations of migration from 1970s to early 1990s

Studies throughout the 1970s and 1980s focused on patterns of, and motivations for, movement; the factors which ‘pushed’ people away from rural

²⁹ The growth of the rural and urban population in the *selva*, especially the *selva alta*, has been called ‘*la selvatización*’ and is linked to the illegal production of coca (INEI, 1995). Peru is one of the world’s top coca producers alongside Columbia and Bolivia (UN office on Drugs and Crime, cited in Peru Support Group news 034 June 2008).

areas of the *sierra* and ‘pulled’ them towards the *selva*, to Lima and other coastal cities. This is reflective of the dominant neo-classical economics theories of migration at that time which related migration to ‘push-pull’ factors, to disparities in wages and standards of living between places (rural and urban) (Harris and Todaro, 1970). A major push factor in rural areas was the increasing fragmentation of land following the agrarian or land reform policy of 1969 under the military government of Velasco (1968-1975) (Bourque and Warren, 1981). Prior to this policy the *hacienda* [landed estate] socioeconomic system was dominant (Deere, 1990). This was based on patron-client relations³⁰ between the *gamonales* [powerful highland landlords] and peasants who usually paid rent to the *gamonales* in a combination of labour services, products, or cash (see Deere, 1990: 59-120 for elaboration). Throughout the 1970s the land reform policy restructured the land holding system, effectively dissolving the *hacienda* system and with it the power of the *gamonales* (Deere, 1990). The reform involved “the expropriation of large landholdings, the redistribution of land among those who worked the land, and the reorganisation of agricultural production on a cooperative basis” (Bourque and Warren, 1981: 185). The agrarian reform involved the creation of *comunidades campesinas* [peasant communities], “officially recognised indigenous communities were guaranteed their right to communal land” (Deere 1990: 232). However, despite the changes in the land holding system, the reform did little to improve the rural situation mainly because the size of the land holdings were small making it virtually impossible for rural households to make a living from agriculture alone (Collins, 1988; Deere, 1990; Starn, 1999). Households needed to supplement agriculture with off-farm activities and by the 1970s many rural households invested labour in off-farm activities, the rural population had become bound to the cash economy (Collins, 1988; Matos Mar and Mejia, 1981). Deepening rural poverty motivated further movement away from rural areas. The table below reveals that poverty and extreme poverty rates in 1986, 1991 and 1994 were concentrated in rural areas, especially rural areas of the *sierra* and *selva*. It shows strong increases in poverty and extreme poverty levels between 1986-1991 across all areas and a decline in levels in 1994.

³⁰ Patron-client relations are unequal reciprocal arrangements tying members of different social strata together (Gillin, 1960 in Paerregaard, 2008).

Table 3.2: Peru poverty rates in 1986, 1991 and 1994

Poverty ³¹	1986 (%)	1991 (%)	1994 (%)
National level	41.6	55.3	53.4
Metropolitan Lima	27.4	47.6	42.4
Urban coast	42.1	54.9	51.9
Rural coast	50.0	Na	63.4
Urban sierra	36.4	53.2	51.6
Rural sierra	49.2	72.7	64.7
Urban selva	48.2	Na	43.0
Rural selva	68.0	Na	70.1
Extreme poverty ³²	1986 (%)	1991 (%)	1994 (%)
National level	18.4	24.2	19.0
Metropolitan Lima	3.4	10.1	5.5
Urban coast	11.1	23.2	12.2
Rural coast	26.6	Na	26.5
Urban sierra	15.4	22.4	14.6
Rural sierra	32.3	54.5	37.7
Urban selva	23.3	Na	12.0
Rural selva	43.9	Na	38.6

Source: PNUD (2002: 18).

A further push factor is that the *sierra* is particularly susceptible and prone to extreme weather conditions. For example, too little or too much rainfall can mean the destruction of an entire harvest leading to migration from the village to the *selva* or to the coast (Collins, 1988). The main push factors motivating movement away from rural areas especially in the *sierra* throughout the 1970s and 80s included deepening rural poverty, increasing land fragmentation, the penetration of the monetised economy, and the harsh climatic conditions of the *sierra*.

A major pull factor motivating movement was the demand for wage labour which was concentrated in the mining centres³³, coastal plantations, the *selva* for coffee and coca production, and also in Lima (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Aramburu, 1979; Araya *et al*, 1979; Blondet, 1990; Collins, 1988; De Soto, 1989; Favre, 1977; Laite, 1984; and Klaren, 2000). Migration was also encouraged by the significant wage gap, for example, coastal wages were 3 to 7 times higher than *sierra* wages (Deere 1990). Movement to the *selva* was also linked to the possibility of owning a piece of land [*parcela*] there as well as the expectation of improved income (Araya *et al*, 1979). Government policies supported movement

³¹ Poverty refers to people whose income only allows for the satisfaction of basic needs.

³² Extreme poverty refers to people whose income only allows for the satisfaction of basic nutritional requirements.

³³ Peru has a long history of mineral extraction, stimulating migration to mining centres in the *sierra* (especially La Oroya, Morococha and Cerro de Pasco) (Bebbington *et al*, 2007).

to the *selva* through planned colonization projects and the building of highways leading into the *selva* (Collins, 1988; Deere, 1990). Movement to the coast, the mines and the *selva* supplemented agricultural activities in the *sierra*, taking place at a period in the highland agricultural cycle where there was no major agricultural work to do, the period after the planting of crops (December to March) and then after the harvests (June to August). These movements have historical antecedents. They are believed to be based on the historic practice of exchanging products and resources between these ecological regions of diverse altitudes (Martinez, 1980; Matos Mar and Mejia, 1981; Paerregaard, 1997). Murra (1972) conceptualised this system as the '*control maximo de pisos ecologicos*' [maximum control of ecological zones], based on the practices of the Incas (Skar, 1994). Each ecological zone of varying altitudes has its own particular products, pasture and resources (Favre, 1977). Altitude specific products include fish and cotton from the coast; maize and dehydrated potatoes from the highlands; and coca from the eastern jungle (Skar, 1994). Murra named the circulation of these products a 'vertical archipelago' (Skar 1994). Thus, population mobility occurred among different ecological 'niches' or zones as an adaptive strategy to increase the diversity of their resource base, to manage risk and exploit resources of different ecological levels (Collins, 1988; Skeldon, 1990).

Movements gradually shifted from temporary or seasonal movement to more long distance, longer-term or permanent migration, with vast movement to the capital, Lima (Deere, 1990; Skeldon, 1990). Table 3.3 documents the rapid growth in the population of the city.

Table 3.3: Growth in Lima population

	Lima population size	Lima population as percentage of total population (%)	Growth rate
1940	645,172	10.4	
1961	1,845,910	18.6	5.1 (1940-61)
1972	3,302,523	24.4	5.4 (1961-72)
1981	4,573,227	26.9	3.7 (1972-81)
1993	6,321,173	28.7	2.7 (1981-93)

Source: INEI, 1995; INEI Censos Nacionales: 1940, 1961, 1972, 1981 and 1993.

By 1972 migrants represented almost half of Lima's population (46%) (INEI, 1995). However due to the lack of housing in the city, migrants had little option

but to invade or reside in existing squatter settlements [*barriadas* little neighbourhoods or *pueblo jovenes* young towns] (Lloyd, 1980; Skeldon, 1990).

Squatter settlement refers to

“residential communities, formed by low-income families, in which the houses are constructed in large measure by the residents and which are generally, but not exclusively, formed illegally” (Collier, 1976: 18).

By 1991 half of Lima’s residents lived in the squatter settlements, table 3.4 charts the rapid growth of these communities (Burt, 1998; Kirk, 2005).

Table 3.4: Expansion of squatter settlements in Lima

	Number of squatter settlements			Percentage of Lima population living in squatter settlements
1940	5			
1955	39		1956	8%
1959	154		1961	17%
1966	182		1972	24%
1970	237		1981	32%
1984	782		1989	38%

Source: Gilbert, 1998: 80; Gilbert, 1996: 74; Lloyd, 1980.

Behind the growth of squatter settlements in Lima was the extensive, although often covert, support of the Peruvian state, which further encouraged movement from the countryside and urbanisation (Collier, 1976; Klaren, 2000).

Migrants to Lima tended to be young and single, mainly in the 16-30 years age group (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Bertoli and Portocarrero, 1968; Martinez, 1969). Golte and Adams (1987: 54) found an ‘ideological-cognitive’ component amongst young people whereby continued migration had led to the emergence of a ‘definitive preparation’ among new generations in the origin community as they embark on the same pathway as migrants. Others referred to youth migration as becoming a cultural norm (Lobo, 1982). A notable change in migration patterns in the 1980s was the increasing numbers of female migrants. Prior to this, seasonal wage migration was a male endeavour and was viewed by rural women as impossible due to their responsibility for child care and animal care in the village (Deere, 1990: 201; Skeldon, 1990). However, pushed by the deepening scarcity of land and opportunity in the *sierra* and pulled by work opportunities in domestic service in the city, women increasingly started migrating to the cities (Altamirano, 2003; Bourque and Warren, 1981; Skeldon, 1990; Starn, 1999). In

1993 female migrants slightly outweighed male migrants (INEI, 1995). Alongside work in domestic service women also found work as street vendors and cooks (Garcia, 1973; Schellekens and Van der Schoot, 1993; Smith, 1993; Starn, 1999). The majority of migrants have found work in the vast informal sector which provides workers with no social benefits, and entails low income, poor work conditions, and unstable jobs.

However, it was not only work opportunities that was pulling male and female migrants to urban areas and Lima in particular (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Martinez, 1969; Matos Mar, 1977). A further pull factor was educational opportunities (Huaman, 1980). Due to the insufficiency of agriculture as a way of life and the limited value of a future in agriculture (Vincent, 2000), the value placed on education increased. Few parents aspired for their children to carry on as farmers but instead wished for their children to study (Alber, 1999; Brougere, 1992). Lobo (1982) found that children's education was viewed as "a very desirable and necessary goal", and migration was a key means to seek to achieve this (Lobo, 1982: 27), especially to gain access to *secundaria* [secondary education] and *estudios superiores* [superior studies] (Brougere, 1992; INEI, 1995; Lobo, 1982). Parents became concerned with educating daughters as well as sons (Lloyd, 1980; Radcliffe, 1986). Migration for work and educational opportunities was embodied in a broader notion of making progress [*progresar* or *el progreso*] (Lobo, 1982), to become socially mobile through education, learning Spanish, and becoming professionals (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Collier, 1976; Martinez, 1969, Matos Mar, 1977). Lima was viewed by migrants as the centre of progress, work, and social mobility (Garcia, 1973; Turino, 1993; Valvidia, 1970). Leinaweaver (2008a: 118) identifies the peasant/professional continuum as a central part of the Andean racial complex

"provincial peasants and upwardly mobile urban migrants internalise these divisions when they praise education as a tool for overcoming a devalued race and class".

The high value that rural and indigenous peoples placed on education that was found in the 1970s and 1980s has been termed 'the school myth' referring to cultural representations that associated schooling with progress (Ames and Rojas, 2009).

Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s with the deepening economic crisis and developing political crisis under the governments of Bermúdez (military ruler, 1975-1980) and elected presidents Belaúnde (1980-1985) and Garcia (1985-1990), migration to the capital started to slow (Riofrio, 1996). Peru experienced major economic recession with per-capita income declining by around one-quarter (Gilbert, 1998; Villa and Rodriguez 1996) and between 1975 and 1978 the country experienced 300% inflation (Deere 1990). Urban living conditions deteriorated and rates of unemployment grew (Bourque and Warren, 1981, Gilbert 1998). Potential migrants began to stay at home, and some migrants in the city were forced to move out, returning to the countryside (Gilbert, 1998).

In the period from the 1980s to the mid-1990s political violence and conflict between the Peruvian military and the Maoist guerrilla organisation *Sendero Luminoso* [the Shining Path movement] and to a lesser extent the *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* [MRTA, the Revolutionary Movement of Tupac Amaru] penetrated the country, leading to a period of forced migration or displacement. When the Shining Path entered villages, villagers were forced to give their support, if they resisted they were killed, it was only those that hid or fled that survived (Kirk, 2005). The military were also responsible for violence, rape, arson, deaths, and even massacring entire communities (Crabtree, 2002). Mitchell (2006) notes that people tend to refer to the violence as ‘*la violencia*’ rather than ‘*el terrorismo*’ as it allows recognition of atrocities on both sides – the shining path and the military³⁴. The main zones of displacement were within the central and southern *sierra* departments of Huancavelica, Ayacucho and Apurimac, areas populated mainly by rural and Quechua speaking people (Eyben, 2005; INEI, 1995). People from these areas fled mainly to the shantytowns on the periphery of provincial or departmental capitals and Lima (Gilbert, 1998; INEI, 1995; Sorensen, 2002). Emergency zones were also declared in areas of the *selva* and Lima itself (Kirk, 2000). The head of the Shining Path Abimael Guzman was captured by Fujimori’s government in 1992 bringing a gradual end to the violence. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission [*Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación*, 2003] estimates that the conflict left 69,000 dead and 600,000 to one million displaced.

³⁴ Fujimori, the president between 1990-2000, is now serving a 25 year prison sentence on human rights abuse charges.

3.3 Urban integration and cultural continuation

The chapter now turns to consider some of the main themes that have emerged from migration research in Peru between the 1970s and early 1990s; most of the studies have been carried out by anthropologists. A main concern of these studies was the extent of rural migrants' integration and adaptation to urban society (Collier, 1976; Matos Mar 1977; Lloyd 1980; Osterling 1980; Lobo 1982; Degregori *et al* 1986; Altamirano, 1988; Matos Mar and Mejia 1981). In particular they were concerned with whether migrants from the *sierra* rejected their Andean origins and culture or whether their cultural identity continued to be a defining feature of migrant life in the city.

The early studies of the 1950s and 1960s revealed a lack of integration and widespread *desadaptacion* [lack of adaptation] amongst migrants (Valera, 1963, in Dobyns and Vasquez, 1963; Valdivia, 1970). This negative view gave way in the literature to a more positive view and a celebration of Andean culture from the end of the 1960s and especially in the 1980s. Anthropologists have tended to classify spheres of cultural identity into three main categories: Indians/Andeans [*lo andino*], *mestizos* [mixing of Spanish with native-born Peruvians] and *cholos* as an intermediate category (Paerregaard, 2008). However, in reality people have resisted such “neat pigeon-holing as Indians, *cholos*, or *mestizos*”, and rarely used such typologies themselves (Diaz in Starn, 1992: 73; also Seligmann, 1993). *Lo andino* refers to those aspects of human life that are uniquely and essentially Andean, the distinctiveness of an Andean vision based on traditions of community and reciprocity (Copestake, 2008b; Sandoval, 2000; Mitchell, 2006). The label ‘*cholo*’ is strongly associated with migration and refers to people of Andean origin trying to become *mestizo* in the process of urban integration (Paerregaard, 1997; Alvarez *et al*, 2008). However the *cholo* identity is a much debated and contested term with negative connotations, it is rarely used as a label of self-identification (Paerregaard, 1997). The term was traditionally used by the coastal *criollo* population to classify and discriminate against Andean migrants (Paerregaard, 1997: 236) and it alludes “above all to one’s belonging to a lower and less prestigious social class” (Acha, 1993, cited in Sabogal, 2005: 122). However, research revealed that rather than a process of *chologification* occurring, there was a

continuation of rural Andean traditions in the urban setting, migrants did not reject their rural cultural identity (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Altamirano, 1988; Paerregaard, 1997). Studies found a '*nacionalismo andino*' [Andean nationalism] among migrants to Lima (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968, citing Doughty, 1964 and Mangin, 1965), and comparable notions were the '*ruralizacion*' [ruralisation] of the cities (Martinez, 1980: 40), the 'Andeanisation of Lima' (Turino, 1993), and Lima as a 'city of Andeans' (Mitchell, 1997).

Indigenous Andean culture is about more than rituals and folklore, stories and songs, it is "an entire social fabric of economy and morality" (Weismantel, 2001: 139). Andean peoples have always relied heavily upon various kinds and levels of interpersonal, inter-family, and intra-community collaboration to get things done. Key to these collaborations and inter-relations are institutions of reciprocity and mutual assistance which have existed in highland communities since pre-Hispanic times. Two main forms of mutual aid are discussed in the literature. Firstly, '*ayni*' which refers to symmetrical reciprocal exchange or mutual help (Mayer, 2002), for example, in exchanging labour in house construction, repairing terrace walls, or for social tasks such as organising *fiestas* [a festival or feast for the whole village] (Paerregaard, 1997). '*Minka*' is the other form of mutual aid which is based on asymmetrical reciprocal exchange whereby no equivalent return is made for a service received (Mayer, 2002: 111). For example, labour is supplied to a household in return for a quantity of goods or produce (Mayer, 2002; Smith, 1989). Migrants were found to have recreated and continued these relations of reciprocity, mutual exchange, and collectivism, in the urban setting (Alber, 1999; Altamirano, 1988; Golte and Adams, 1987; Lobo, 1982). An example is Lobo (1982) who, in her study of a squatter settlement near Callao, Lima, found that *ayni* cooperation was drawn on for house construction. She also found that migrants recreated the *fiesta* system from their home village, Corongo, Ancash and in the process of celebrating the *fiesta*, relations of reciprocal obligations were activated which were crucial to survival in the urban environment, for gaining access to loans, advice, support, and business connections (Lobo, 1982: 174). Migrants also organised collective work days to build roadways, lay pipes, and install electricity cables, and acted collectively lobbying government in order to obtain legal land rights and basic services (Blondet, 1990; Burt, 1998; Doughty, 1997; Degregori, 2000). Women were key

players in these efforts, often organising the collective work (Blondet, 1990). However, some have argued that whilst relations of mutual aid are important on arrival, they become less significant once migrants are well established (Harris, 1995: 369; Blondet, 1990).

Research also showed the existence of extensive urban networks of migrants in Lima based on the social relations of *parentesco* [kinship relations], *paisanaje* [people from the same village, town or region] and *compadrazgo* [co-parenthood] (Long and Roberts, 1984; Lobo, 1982). These relations were seen as a continuation of social relations in the village. In rural areas of the Andes “kin are a ubiquitous feature of peasant life” (Laite, 1984: 109). *El parentesco* is the central mechanism which facilitates access to resources (Degregori *et al*, 1986: 68). The meaning of kin relations is evidenced by the Quechua words *waqcha* and *apu* which are the closest synonyms for ‘poor’ and ‘rich’ respectively (Copestake, 2008b). Translated literally *waqcha* refers to a person who has very little or nothing (materially), but also is a person who has nobody, no family nor relatives, or very few relatives, an orphan, and who is subsequently poor (Degregori *et al*, 1986, Altamirano, 1988; PNUD, 2002; Skar, 1994). *Waqcha* implies “someone without frequently enacted family connections” (Leinaweaver, 2008a: 72). The opposite term ‘*apu*’ means ‘rich’ and refers to a person who not only has material wealth but also a large network of kin that can be relied upon (Isbell, 1977: 96). In the urban context

“the sentiment is often expressed that an individual with many kin is fortunate, secure and in many respects wealthy, whereas one who has few kin considers himself unfortunate and poor” (Lobo, 1982: 73).

As Copestake (2008b: 13) argues

“this conception of poverty suggests that close relationships and social networks are considered to be an important asset in Andean societies, with both intrinsic and instrumental value (Altamirano, 1988: 27)”

Compadrazgo refers to the system or institution of ‘ritual co-parenthood’. It involves the creation of fictive kinship ties to strengthen and cement bonds between people (Bourque and Warren 1981; Skar, 1994). *Compadrazgo* in Andean societies is

“a syncretic combination of autochthonous social relationships and the god-parenthood introduced by the Spanish. Unlike the customary Spanish

relationship, in which *compadrazgo* ties are established at an infant's baptism, ties of *compadrazgo* in the Andes can be established at birth, at the time of child's first haircut, at marriage, or upon the occurrence of a range of events" (Collins, 1988: 114).

This system creates ties of *padrinazgo* between the godparents [*padrinos* and *madrinas*] and the child [*ahijado/a*]. It also tightens the relationship between the godparents and the parents of the child who become *compadres* and assist one another in times of need (Long and Roberts, 1984). The resulting relationship triad between the godchild, parents and godparents creates a web of mutual support, "a network of people who like kins-people, can be called on for help" (Mitchell, 2006: 40). Blondet (1990) found that the system of *compadrazgo* was widespread in the squatter settlement, San Martin de Porres, in Lima and these bonds helped to consolidate mutual support networks. Whilst relations of *compadrazgo* can be chosen from among the wider kin group to reinforce the kinship bond (Skar, 1994), migrants have tended to prefer to establish these relations with higher status Lima residents with better connections to coastal-urban life, particularly with their fellow *paisanos*, reinforcing vertical patron-client relations (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968: 31; Degregori *et al*, 1986; Lobo, 1982; Mangin, 1970).

Relations of *parentesco*, *compadrazgo* and *paisanaje* have been utilised by migrants to gain access to and secure employment. However, many migrants ended up entering into patron-client type relations with their distant relatives (aunts/uncles), godparents [*padrinos* and *madrinas*], and *paisanos* [those sharing the same village or region of origin] especially when they lacked relationships with closer relatives (Degregori *et al*, 1986)³⁵. For example, allowing situations where labour was not paid, or was payment in kind, or labour in exchange for accommodation, in particular for domestic labour (Golte and Adams, 1987). Domestic workers [*empleadas* or *trabajadores de hogar*] often receive a very low-level of pay, or even no payment at all, and are subjected to discrimination, abuse and maltreatment by their employers (Schellekens and van der Schoot, 1993). Garcia (1973) emphasised that the relation established between the *empleada* and

³⁵ Patron-client relations were historically used to recruit rural labour to Peru's *haciendas*, mines, and domestic servant industry – "clientelism implies a *vertical relation of domination* between a broker or employer and a migrant worker that creates strong bonds of not only economic dependency but also personal trust between the two" (Paerregaard, 2002b: 2).

the patrons was more like a 'sir-servant' model than an employer-employee one. However, entering into these types of patron-client relations was often the only option for migrants and the relations were viewed more as a necessary resource than an obstacle, helping migrants to reach their objectives, opening up new opportunities, a means of achieving social mobility (Degregori *et al*, 1986: 94; Lobo, 1982: 150; Blondet, 1990; Paerregaard, 2008)³⁶.

A further aspect of cultural continuity that aided urban adaptation and integration was the finding of strong regional identities amongst migrants which were intensified and reinforced through the development and expansion of regional associations. Regional identities incorporate migrants' sentiment of a common geographic origin, entailing a common heritage and ties, common religion and ethnicity, with home village affiliations as their bases (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1997: 171). The significance of identification with homeland was found to continue far beyond arrival and the period of urban integration (Doughty, 1970). Skar (1994) in her study of the village of Matapuquio (Andahuaylas, southern highlands) emphasises how the village 'anchors' 'absent ones' - Matapuquio villagers in Lima and Chanchamayo (eastern foothills of the Andes):

“no matter how long they might be away, they would belong to the village, be part of the larger whole, with distance having no effect on the essential, shared identity” (Skar, 1994: 31).

Skar avoids using the term migration or migrant and instead focuses on an indigenous understanding of the experience of being apart [*mitmaq*] and the Quechua term, '*illaqkuna*', meaning 'absent ones'. Skar argues that this perspective creates “a perception of self as anchored in the village” (p.231), a rootedness in the village. Similarly, Paerregaard (1997, 1998) found in his research in the late 1980s and early 1990s of the village of Tapay and migrants from there living in Arequipa and Lima, that Tapay remained a central point of reference for Tapeño migrants. Migrants continued to have deep rooted regional sentiments and identifications and a feeling of sharing geographic roots united migrant communities.

³⁶ However, Paerregaard (2002a: 127) argues that “clientelism is no longer a dominant form of labour recruitment in Peru” and that once migrants have established their own networks they tend to “develop other ways of mobilizing labour through the horizontal bonds of village and ethnic loyalties or narrower household and kinship ties”.

A key finding of studies in the 70s and 80s was the development and growth of regional associations. Membership of these associations is based on a shared, common place of origin (Altamirano, 1984: 199). Associations identify themselves with departments, provinces, districts, or district subdivisions (annexes, barrios, communities, and villages) (Doughty, 1997). As early as 1910 the first village-based associations appeared in the work centres and cities of Peru (Roberts, 1974), and by 1936 over 600 regional associations had been registered (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968). The number continued to grow: in 1970 there were 1,050 associations, 4,000 in 1977, and around 6,000 by 1980 (Altamirano, 2000). Associations were found to be formally organised with statutes, book of acts, book of accounts, election of leaders, having their own locale, and established football and volleyball teams (Golte and Adams, 1987). The associations were found to facilitate adaptation to the urban environment through organising various social and cultural events for members: sports events, especially soccer championships; religious and folklore festivals including *cortamonte* (tree cutting), *jalapato* (duck-pull) and celebrations of patron saints of their villages, dances, and barbeques (*parrilladas*) (Altamirano, 1984; Doughty, 1970; Paerregaard, 1997). The organisation of these activities was viewed as strengthening and expanding relationships and systems of mutual aid based on reciprocity (Doughty, 1970; Golte and Adams, 1987). Bourque and Warren (1981) viewed regional clubs as a mechanism to maintain ties in Lima for ex-residents of a town, district or province, but took a more critical view of them. Regional clubs tended “to be men’s organisations which emphasise male interests and priorities” (*ibid*, p.199). For example, clubs in the communities studied had assisted with the construction of football fields – “soccer, a sport in which women do not participate, serves as an important vehicle for maintaining male friendships” (*ibid*, p.199). More recently, Anderson *et al* (2006) also identify a strong class dimension to the clubs, finding that the migrant clubs of the Yauyos province in Lima were composed mainly of middle class people or families on a path of rising social mobility.

Relations of *parentesco*, *compadrazgo* and *paisanaje* have aided adaptation and integration in urban areas. The presence of family, fellow-villagers and friends already living in the city reduced the risks involved in migration encouraging more people to move there (Doughty, 1997; Martinez, 1969; Gilbert, 1998). A key theme arising from Peru migration studies has been

the development, persistence and reinforcement of rural-urban connections, it is to these studies that I now turn.

3.4 Rural-urban interconnections

Successive studies continually found migrants maintained and reinforced their links with rural areas through continued contact with their community of origin (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Bourque and Warren, 1981; de la Cadena, 1988; Lloyd, 1980; Long and Roberts, 1984; Martinez, 1969). This was supported by anthropological village studies in the 1980s which shifted from a view of highland villages as isolated and closed communities, with a radical split between the rural and the urban, towards a realisation that in order to understand the rural world, the urban world needed to be considered too (Alber, 1999; Paerregaard, 2003; Starn, 1991). Attention shifted to the inter-linkage between *el pueblo* [village/community] and *la ciudad* [city] rather than studying villages as closed units as in previous Andean village studies (Alber, 1999). This led to a series of migration studies starting with the village and tracing migrants from the village in the migration destination, and studying the relations between villagers and migrants (Osterling, 1980; Smith 1984; 1989; Golte and Adams, 1987; de la Cadena, 1988; Skar 1994; Brougère 1992; Paerregaard, 1997, 1998; Turino, 1993).

Studies have found that migrants often retain a base in the home villages, leaving their land, home and belongings in the care of relatives or fellow villagers who often remit part of the harvest to the migrant (Golte and Adams, 1987; Long and Roberts, 1984). Expected future inheritance also sustains family ties, especially those between parents and children and among siblings (Lobo, 1982; Deere, 1990; Paerregaard, 1997). Links between villagers and migrants have also built up economic enterprises or businesses that stretch across different localities, rural and urban, as shown by Smith's (1984; 1989) notion of 'confederations of households'³⁷, and Long's (2001, 2008) 'multiple family enterprises'. Bourque and Warren (1981) also detailed the development of *sierra-coast* trading networks. Long and Roberts' (1984) portrayed the interaction between the city and the countryside through an emphasis on 'rotation' or 'circulation' between

³⁷ To refer to the complex series of linkages between households in Lima, Huancayo, La Oroya and the village Huasicancha.

various localities, urban and rural. The authors described the cities of Huancayo [central *sierra*] and Lima as ‘temporary dormitories’ and as being comprised of a ‘floating population’ (Long and Roberts, 1984: 161). Brougere (1992: 145) called villagers of Laraos ‘travellers’ [*viajeros*], making repeated journeys, ‘coming and going’, between village, town/city, and Lima. These references to mobility are an indication of an emerging contrasting notion of movement to migration which carries more permanent connotations.

Widespread flows of remittances, cash and non-cash, between villagers and their migrants are well documented (Alber, 1999; de la Cadena, 1988; Golte and Adams, 1987; Mitchell 1997; Paerregaard, 1997; Skar, 1994). These remittance flows sustain and reinforce rural-urban interconnections. Flows are two-way, bi-directional, channelling money, products and information from the city to the countryside and vice versa (de la Cadena, 1988). These gifts of produce, known as *encomiendas*, are conceptualised as part of the reciprocal exchange system. In a similar way to the vertical archipelago noted earlier, the interconnections allow for the mutual exchange and circulation of products specific to place – with migrants in the city sending essential supplies (e.g. rice, sugar, condensed milk, pasta/noodles), clothing, and medicine to the village, and in return receiving products from the *chacra* [agricultural land or field] – fruit, cereal, corn and other local products (Brougere, 1992; Mitchell, 1997; Paerregaard, 1997; Skar, 1994). The products exchanged also have symbolic value, as Skar (1994: 58) explains, food from the village has particular symbolic significance to ‘absent ones’:

“in the villagers’ view, all of these foods are the very substance of what you are. Receiving these goods, you eat again of your lands and in substance can become one again with that distant place ... There is a very specific connection between food and land”.

Migrants not only participate in *fiestas* held in the city but were also found to return to their home village for *fiesta* celebrations (Roberts, 1974; Paerregaard, 1997). During these celebrations migrants confirm and reinforce their rural ties (Paerregaard, 1997). There is a rural expectation that migrants will finance village *fiestas* and for migrants it represents an arena to show fellow villagers that they are progressing in the city (Paerregaard, 1997; Roberts, 1974). Regional associations also became mechanisms for continuing links to places of origin

through supporting village development projects, offering support for the community or village of origin (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Altamirano, 1984; Doughty, 1970, 1997; Golte and Adams, 1987; Roberts, 1997). For example, sending donations to schools for notebooks, pencils, sports equipment, musical instruments and so on (Doughty, 1970).

However, several studies failed to find the existence of such strong interconnections between migrants and places of origin. Many of the studies incorporated above originated with studying the village and then tracing migrant villagers, sometimes through regional associations in urban areas. However, Lloyd (1980) argues that this may have led to a tendency to find those who *do* maintain links with the home community and to stress the significance of these links. Studies which have focused on the urban setting have not always found such strong links to place of origin. Degregori *et al*'s (1986: 111) study found that links with the place of origin and with their families of origin tend to diminish as migrants become more concerned with focusing on the urban community - with a focus on their children and their future, links with their neighbours inside the urban community, and with their place of work. Some urban studies also found that the importance of links to rural communities diminishes among second generation migrants as they identify more with '*mi barrio*' [my neighbourhood] where they have spent their lives than with the notion of '*mi tierra*' [my homeland] that was commonly referred to by their parents (Lobo, 1982; Degregori *et al*, 1986). Resources are needed to maintain ties and Mitchell (1997: 43) found that only the better off migrants in Lima were able to preserve their connections to the highland village of Quinua, through sending and receiving remittances and travelling back and forth. The poor, on the other hand, who most needed rural agricultural remittances, lacked the capital for gifts and travel which was needed to sustain ties of reciprocity. Movement can also entail escaping from and breaking rural ties and commitments. In Lobo's study, one of the reasons for migration from the highlands to the city among middle-aged adults in the squatter settlement was "to remove themselves from the burden of entangled parental obligations" (1982: 85). Among female migrants studied by Blondet (1990: 19) migration for some women entailed freeing themselves from relationships within the origin community, which often meant they migrated alone without the supportive structure of family members and *paisanos* to help ease their entry into

urban life. Links have also been found to be less strong among migrants originating from the coast (*costeños*) compared with *serrano* migrants (Degregori *et al*, 1986; Golte and Adams, 1987). Similarly, regional associations tended to be more significant to migrants from the Lima hinterland and south *sierra* than for those from the north *sierra* and the coast (Golte and Adams, 1987). However, on the whole, it has been the extensive and continued rural-urban interconnections that has been emphasised in the literature, especially the economic or material value and the symbolic or cultural nature of these links. The next section will consider more recent research from the mid 1990s to the present.

3.5 From migration to mobility and circulation [mid 1990s – 2000s]

The general shape or patterns of movement have continued in the same direction with movement to Lima and to the *selva* continuing, being motivated by a search for work opportunities and education facilities on the coast, and access to land in the *selva* (Morales, 2007). Data from the Peru census in 2007 reveals that 6.5% of the population changed place of residence in the last 5 years (2002 – 2007), and of these, 46.8% went to Lima Callao (INEI, 2008). The highest levels of out-migration were in the *sierra*, especially from the departments of Cajamarca, Piura, Junin, Huancavelica, Apurimac and Ayacucho (INEI, 2008; Morales, 2007). However, census data are limited as these statistics only reflect more permanent relocations³⁸ and do not capture seasonal or short-term movements (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004: 13)³⁹. Although poverty rates at the country level have been declining over recent years (see table 3.5 below)⁴⁰, this overall decrease masks vast geographical differences.

³⁸ The census data distinguished two forms of migration, ‘lifetime migration’ [*migración de toda la vida*] defined by residing in a different Department to that of birth, and ‘recent migrants’ defined by a change of residence in the last 5 years crossing a Department boundary.

³⁹ Skeldon (2008: 31) notes that an approach based on birthplace, lifetime migration, or place of last residence, place of usual residence 5 years ago, or another variant of these questions is unsatisfactory for studies of internal migration.

⁴⁰ National poverty rates decreased further in 2008 at 36.2% and in 2009 at 34.8% (Trivelli, 2010). The most recent statistics reveal a continued decline to 25.8% in 2012 (INEI, 2013).

Table 3.5: Percentage of population living in poverty and extreme poverty in Peru 2004-2007

	2004	2005	2006	2007
Poverty ⁴¹ Total %	48.6	48.7	44.5	39.3
Extreme Poverty ⁴² Total %	17.1	17.4	16.1	13.7

Source: INEI Encuesta Nacional de Hogares 2004-2007 (www.inei.gob.pe)

Poverty and extreme poverty have continued to be concentrated in rural areas, especially in the *sierra*. The 2007⁴³ rates for rural areas were 64.6% living in poverty and 32.9% living in extreme poverty, well above the national averages. The comparable rates for urban areas were 25.7% and 3.5% respectively. Poverty rates were also concentrated in the *sierra* at 60.1% compared to 22.6% on the coast, and the *selva* rate being mid-way at 48.4% (INEI, 2008)⁴⁴. The rural *sierra* shows the highest poverty rates with 73.3% living in poverty and 40.8% in extreme poverty. These persistently high poverty rates are obscured by the overall trend of a reduction in poverty rates. Perry *et al* (2006) have highlighted Peru out of the Latin America countries as having particularly large differences in poverty rates across regions, they argue:

“The fact that some regions of Peru have counts of under 10 percent while others hover above 70 percent speaks for itself about the importance of integrating spatial considerations into poverty analysis” (p.130).

Poverty levels are also higher among indigenous people from the *sierra* and the *selva* (Trivelli, 2010). Trivelli (2010) argues that poor people continue to be the same: they are Peruvians from clearly identifiable groups: rural, indigenous and *agricultores* [farmers]. Poverty figures are also misleading in the sense that of

⁴¹ Percentage of people living below the poverty line defined as the monetary value of basic basket of food plus the monetary value necessary to satisfy a combination of non-nutritional needs considered essential -a basic consumption basket (229.4 soles per person in 2007).

⁴² Percentage of people living below the extreme poverty line defined as the monetary value of a basic basket of food sufficient to satisfy minimum nutritional needs (121.2 soles per person in 2007).

⁴³ I focus on the rates for the year 2007 as this was the year when fieldwork took place.

⁴⁴ Similar geographic inequalities are found in measures of the Human Development Index (HDI), with highest rates being on the coast and lowest ones in the *sierra*, the *selva* areas being somewhere in-between the two (Altamirano *et al*, 2004; PNUD, 2002).

those classified as ‘non poor’, 20% are very close to the poverty line living in conditions which are almost identical to those who are living below the line (Trivelli, 2010).

Persistently high poverty levels in rural areas and precarious urban living conditions have continued the need to combine the resources of rural and urban worlds. As mentioned earlier, circulation between rural and urban areas was apparent in the 1980s, more recent studies have shown an intensification of circulation practices and emphasise the entwinement and interdependence of rural and urban areas (Gascón, 2004; Paerregaard, 2002; Sorensen, 2002a). This is exemplified by the concepts of ‘mobile livelihoods’ (Sorensen, 2002a), ‘*rurbanos*’ (DFID/World Bank, 2003: 35) and ‘*rural-urbanos*’ (Llona *et al*, 2004). Sorensen’s notion of ‘mobile livelihoods’ which I detailed in the previous chapter was based on research in Peru. Mobile livelihoods refer to constant movement between various rural and urban sites which has become a central element in men and women’s livelihood practices (Sorensen, 2002a: 23). Stepputat and Sorensen (2001) carried out research to evaluate the Programme for the Assistance for the Repopulation of rural Peru (PAR) introduced by the Peruvian government to organise the return of those displaced by *la violencia* to their communities of origins. The authors found the success of the programme to be limited because the programme was based on the notion that people usually live in one fixed place “entire families were expected to return and to stay together in the rural communities as a family” (Sorensen, 2002a: 36). However, many participants wanted to maintain two homes, retaining their home in the city whilst re-establishing their home in the countryside, they did not see themselves as future permanent residents in their rural communities of origin (Sorensen, 2002a). Mobile livelihoods entail sustaining multiple residences, maintaining footholds in rural and urban areas. This is exemplified by Alber’s (1999) notion of the ‘*pueblo dinamico*’ [dynamic village] to portray how family reproduction occurs in different localities incorporating the village (Huayopampa), town (Huaral), and city (Lima). The participatory poverty assessment in Peru ‘*Voces de los Pobres*’ (DFID/World Bank, 2003) found similar practices occurring in the study sites which are reflected in the term ‘*rurbano*’, a person who is not entirely rural, nor completely urban:

“From the city to the countryside, from the countryside to the city, or from the countryside to another agricultural area, migration is a phenomenon on the increase – above all among the poorest ... The ‘*rurbano*’ (neither entirely rural, nor entirely urban) is becoming a strategy of life of poor people in the sites investigated” (DFID/World Bank, 2003: 35) .

The mixing of urban and rural ways of life is emphasised in the study as a strategy for managing crisis – as much in the urban sites as in rural ones – especially for food security (DFID/World Bank, 2003: 29). A comparable term is ‘*rural-urbanos*’ which refers to how the relationship between rural and urban areas is being modified creating an intermediate or hybrid space between the two (Llona *et al*, 2004: 162). Llona *et al* (2004) consider urban-rural links in three intermediary cities of Chivay, Arequipa; Huancavelica; and Villa Rica, Pasco. They find that inhabitants in these cities maintain close relationships with the countryside through continuing agricultural activity to support themselves, alongside a commitment and link in the city, a blend of rural *campesino* [peasant] and urban dweller (p.197). A consequence of these strategies or practices has been the growth of medium-sized cities, in particular there has been a rapid growth of the cities of Trujillo, Arequipa, Chiclayo, Piura, Ica, Cusco, Huancayo, Chimbote, Sullana, Juliaca, Pucallpa, Tarapoto and Tingo Maria (Altamirano, 2003; Degregori, 2000; Llona *et al*, 2004). A further pattern is increased urban to urban movement and is a trend increasing in Latin America more generally. Deshingkar and Grimm (2004: 6, 10) argue that internal population movements are involving more circulation within urban areas and migration between urban centres, especially intra-metropolitan migration (citing Cerrutti and Bertoncello, 2003).

The terms mobile livelihoods, multiple residence practices, *rurbano*, and *rural-urbanos* portray movements which appear less like migration which carries more permanent connotations. As Olwig and Sorensen (2002: 10) argue, movement should be viewed as “an integral aspect of the life trajectories of individuals and groups of people, and not as an abnormal interruption to normal stationary life”. The terms are more reflective of mobility and circulation, the constant and continuous movements of people across places (Leinaweaver 2008a: 115). This reflects a wider pattern identified in the previous chapter of movements within developing countries more generally being increasingly temporary, seasonal, and circulatory in nature (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004;

Deshingkar, 2006). As Deshingkar (2006: 88) argues, circulation “appears to be emerging as the dominant pattern of movement of poorer groups who keep one foot in the village either by necessity or choice”.

3.6 International migration and the interconnectedness of movements (late 1990s – present)

In comparison to the trend in the wider migration literature, a key change in research in the late 1990s and especially in the 2000s has been the proliferation of studies of Peruvians living abroad. In 2006, an estimated 2.5 million Peruvians were living abroad, almost 10% of the total population of Peru (Altamirano, cited in Paerregaard, 2008: 2). The main countries of destination include the United States⁴⁵, Japan⁴⁶, Argentina, Chile, Spain⁴⁷ and Italy⁴⁸. Peruvian migration to the US peaked in the period of the political violence and conflict and increased during the 1990s in the context of the deepening economic crisis which was brought on by the effects of structural adjustments of the Fujimori government (1990-2000), referred to as the ‘Fuji-shock’, alongside continued political violence (Sorensen, 2002b). Carrasco (2010) identifies in the same period (1990s) a further pattern which was also linked to the tightening of immigration controls in the North, with countries in the South, especially the more prosperous South American countries such as Argentina, Chile, and more recently Ecuador, becoming popular destinations for Peruvian emigrants (citing Berg and Paerregaard, 2005). Lower classes as well as the middle and high classes are emigrating, and women⁴⁹ as well as men (Avila, 2003; Paerregaard, 2007). Peruvian women have migrated to work as domestic servants in the USA, southern Europe, and South America, especially to the cities of Miami, Madrid, Barcelona, Milan, Rome, Buenos Aires and Santiago (Paerregaard 2002a, 2002b; Sorensen, 2002b). The 2007 census reveals

⁴⁵ See Sabogal (2005) on experiences of middle-class Peruvian professionals in the US and Paerregaard (2002) on transnational Peruvian migrants working as sheep herders in California, US.

⁴⁶ During the late 1980s and early 1990s many Japanese-Peruvian (or *nikkeijin*) youths migrated to Japan due to economic opportunities in contract factory work (Takenaka, 2003: 481; also see Takenaka, 2004). Non-Japanese Peruvians also migrated to Japan for factory work and by 2002 there were 53,000 Peruvians in Japan (Paerregaard, 2002).

⁴⁷ See Escriva (1997, 2000) on female Peruvian migrants working in domestic service in Barcelona and Wright (2010; 2012) on Peruvian migrants in Madrid and London.

⁴⁸ Tamagno (2002) details networks connecting family members in Huancayo, Peru, and Italy.

⁴⁹ Females predominate in moves to Europe which is related to the opportunities for Peruvian women in domestic service and as carers of the elderly in Italy and Spain, especially Barcelona and Madrid (Escriva, 1997, 2000; Chant, 2003; see also Paerregaard, 2002a).

that 10.4% of households had a member in another country. In terms of the location of these sending households, 91.6% [645,626] of households were in urban areas and 8.4% [59,120] were households in rural areas (INEI, 2008). 45.9% of households were in the department of Lima. However, estimates of Peruvians living abroad are difficult due to the undocumented nature of much migration abroad (Sorensen, 2002b).

A key finding and theme of studies on international migration of Peruvians is the interconnectedness of internal and international movements (Long, 2008; Paerregaard, 2002b, 2008). This reflects the emerging trend in the wider migration literature as discussed in the previous chapter. Although there is a bottom line difference at the administrative/ political level that internal population movements are not normally regulated directly by governments whereas international migration is controlled by government policies to regulate movement across state boundaries (Paerregaard, 2008; Skeldon, 2008). Movements are interconnected through a 'step' migration process, as Takenaka and Pren (2010: 32) note, movements within Peru provided new opportunities to move on to other countries:

“networks developed in the process of internal migration as well as exposure to urban lifestyles and information acquired in the city enabled them to seek better fortunes abroad (Paerregaard, 1997; Julca, 2001)”
(Takenaka and Pren, 2010: 32).

Paerregaard (2002b: 1) argues “the migration processes we nowadays label as transnational are to a large extent extensions of earlier population movements” and that Peruvian international migrants’ transnational experience grows out of pre-existing networks and migrant practices, it is linked to previous migration trajectories and experiences (p.8). Paerregaard identifies three main ways in which internal and international movements are linked. Firstly, there are similar motivations behind movement. With poverty and unemployment widespread in rural and urban areas, rural-urban migrants have started to search progress and upward social mobility in other countries, to improve their living conditions (Avila, 2003; Paerregaard, 2002b, 2008). Secondly, international migrants draw on the same networks that rural-urban migrants used previously, rural-urban networks are extended to transnational spaces. Avila (2003) has introduced the notion of ‘triangular networks’ referring to the weaving of networks which

triangulate the rural community [*comunidad campesina*] with migrants in the city (Lima) and in the United States. Thirdly, the nature of transnational networks reveals similarities to those developed by internal migrants. Networks are based on a shared sense of belonging and identification with Peru, home region, or native village. Peruvian international migrants maintain a sense of co-responsibility and national solidarity which motivates many to take part in collective efforts, to “collect aid for their fellow countrymen when the latter are suffering from natural disasters, wars, and political crisis” (Paerregaard, 2002a: 139). Avila (2003) finds that ‘localism’ (sense of belonging) is strong among international migrants and this is shown by how patronal festivals and religious celebrations are reinvented abroad. Continued regional loyalties is also evidenced by the presence of over 400 regional associations developed by Peruvian emigrants in the United States, some of which have similar names to those in Lima, which support home development projects (Avila, 2003). Altamirano (2010) refers to these migrant organisations as ‘transnational communities’, community networks in which people from the same provinces keep connected. One of the main purposes of these organisations is the transfer of remittances to contribute to local development (*ibid*).

A further similarity between international and internal networks is the extensive flows of remittances. The Inter-American Development Bank estimates that in 2007 the annual total of remittances to Peru was just over 3 billion US dollars (Altamirano, 2010). These large flows of remittances from Peruvians living abroad to family and communities in Peru have led the Peruvian government to view Peruvians living abroad as an imagined additional region or zone in the Peruvian nation (Paerregaard, 2008). This is reflective of a wider global trend of governments and policy makers in countries of origin and destination considering the positive potential of migration for development and viewing migrants as ‘agents of development’ through remittances as was shown in the previous chapter (De Haas, 2010; Piper, 2009; Laczko, 2008). Altamirano (2010) distinguishes monetary remittances and non-monetary transfers. Non-monetary transfers from abroad to family members in Peru range from televisions to toiletries and brand-name clothing. The objects are more than material objects, they have a cultural value, “behind the object lies a message of affection, caring (*kuyay*) and reciprocity” (Altamirano, 2010: 80). However, with the current

global economic and financial crisis, Altamirano (2010) argues that remittance flows are reducing and an increasing number of international migrants are returning home. Fajnzylber and Lopez (2007) have pointed to an interesting pattern in terms of recipients of remittances. In comparing Latin American countries they note that in some countries (Mexico and Paraguay) remittance receiving households are primarily located at the bottom of the income and educational distribution, however, in other countries including Peru an opposite pattern is found. In Peru “fewer than 6% of the households that receive remittances belong to the lowest quintile, while 40% belong to the top quintile”, remittances appear to be flowing towards the richest (Fajnzylber and Lopez, 2007: 6)⁵⁰. This observed pattern has important implications for the impact of remittances on poverty and inequality and suggests remittances might not play an important role in reducing the high levels of income inequality that characterises Peruvian society. Takenaka and Pren (2010: 30) observe a similar pattern in their analysis of data from the Latin American Migration Project (LAMP). They find that

“not only does a disproportionate share of urban emigrants come from relatively privileged backgrounds but emigration helps them gain further economic advantage relative to others who never leave the country. Thus, the increasing emigration observed today is likely to exacerbate rather than ameliorate the already uneven distribution of income and rigid socioeconomic hierarchy in Lima” (2010: 30)

Whilst research throughout the 2000s has focused on international migration, several studies have researched movements within the country; these have focused on a neglected area of child and youth mobility involving research with children and young people (Anderson, 2007b; Anderson *et al*, 2006; Crivello, 2009; Leinaweaver, 2007, 2008a, 2008b). Leinaweaver studies the kinship strategy of ‘child circulation’, whereby children (from approximate ages of 4-18 years) are sent by their parents from small villages and towns to live in other homes in the city. Crivello (2009) studies youth transitions through education and migration, and Anderson’s (2007b) work has focused on child domestic labour. These studies reveal a strong continuation of the notion of progress and value of

⁵⁰ Although it is important to note the difficulty in recording remittance flows, as was explained in the previous chapter.

education identified in earlier studies through the ideas of ‘*superarse*’ [to improve oneself or to get ahead] and ‘becoming somebody’ [*ser alguien*], reflecting an overcoming of poverty (Leinaweaver, 2008a, 2008b), a life out of poverty (Crivello, 2009). Leinaweaver relates the meanings of *superarse* for Peruvians to the context of extreme poverty, the political violence and conflict, and with growing frustration with the inadequacy of the government to provide basic services (2008a: 115).

3.7 Discussion and conclusion

Through taking a historical perspective this chapter has sought to review studies of migration and mobility in Peru dating from the 1970s to the present. I detailed how the geographical spread of the population has transformed from a predominantly rural and *sierra* population to a coastal and urban one. Research from the 1970s to the early 1990s explored patterns of movement and the largely economic push-pull factors driving movement. A diversity of movements were found incorporating rural-rural as well as rural-urban moves, temporary and seasonal movements as well as more permanent relocations. The vast movement to the capital of Lima was shown through the rapid growth of squatter settlements housing newcomers. I also noted movement being concentrated among young people and increasing numbers of females moving. Education was also identified as a key motivation for movement and the value placed on education was shown as embedded in the notion of making progress – becoming socially mobile through education and becoming professionals. I then detailed a period of forced migration or displacement due to the political conflict and violence from the 1980s to the mid 1990s. Subsequent studies have shown a pattern of continued and sustained connection and movement between rural and urban areas. A recent pattern that has been observed is an increase in urban-urban movements. More recent research has shifted focus to Peruvians living abroad and has pointed to the links between movements within the country and international migration. The rest of this section is structured around the key themes which have emerged from the studies and identifies how these have informed the focus of this thesis.

3.7.1 From migration to movement and mobilities

Throughout the chapter I have shown how the literature has shifted from ‘migration’ to other mobility-related terms which reflect a less permanent connotation and reveal movement as an integral component of livelihoods. These forms of movement have been enabled through the development of extensive rural-urban interconnections. Examples of this sense of continual and repeated movement include: rotation, circulation and the ‘floating population’ of Huancayo and Lima (Long and Roberts, 1984); ‘travellers’ [*viajeros*], ‘coming and going’ between the village, town and city (Brougere, 1992); ‘mobile livelihoods’ and ‘multiple residence practices’ (Sorensen, 2002a); and the notions of ‘*rurbanos*’ (DFID/World Bank, 2003) and ‘*rural-urbanos*’ (Llona *et al*, 2004). These forms of movement are linked to persistent rural poverty, precarious urban living conditions and the need to combine resources of rural and urban worlds. I agree with Long’s (2008) argument that with this pattern of mobility across multiple localities it is difficult to put into practice the dualist notion of an origin and destination as families and communities become dispersed across various places. Through his research on family and community networks in Peruvian transnational mobility, Long (2008: 59) questions the usefulness of sharp distinctions between types of migration (internal and international; temporary and permanent):

“since such typologies tend to segment and obscure the kinds of cross-generational relations that link different family branches and individuals engaged in migratory experiences at different stages in their lives”.

Instead he argues for an approach that can capture the interconnected lives of people who are at home or ‘on-the-move’ within and outside the country, and “the interconnectedness of different types of spatial and geographical movement and livelihoods” (Long, 2008: 59; DeWind and Holdaway, 2008). To convey the way that movement is central to how people make a living, I view mobility as a more appropriate term because it carries less permanent connotations (Crivello, 2009; Leinaweaver, 2008a). It also avoids making sharp distinctions between types of migration which segment and obscure the relations and networks that link individuals and families engaged in movement at different stages in their lives (Long, 2008). However, given that most of the recent studies have focused on

international migration, I also identify the need for a refocus on mobility within the country.

3.7.2 The significance of networks

The literature has shown a continuation of village social relations in urban networks based on kinship, co-parenthood [*compadrazgo*] and shared village, town or region of origin [*paisanaje*]. These networks have facilitated urban integration and adaptation and continued village relations of reciprocity, mutual exchange, support and assistance, and collectivism in the urban setting. Studies have also revealed continued contact with communities of origin and extensive networks connecting rural and urban areas. These interconnections have enabled flows of remittances (monetary and non-monetary) and have built up economic enterprises, businesses and trading networks. The cultural or symbolic nature of these interconnections has been emphasised, being based on a strong sense of belonging and regional identity, and through the celebration of cultural *fiestas* and festivals either in the urban setting or returning to village of origin. Through these networks, regional associations have been formed which are based on regional identities, networks are strengthened through the activities and events organised by the associations, and they have also supported village development projects.

A small number of studies that focused on the urban setting failed to find such strong rural-urban links (Degregori *et al*, 1986). Other studies have also shown the less positive side to networks through the recruitment of labour in the mines and domestic service through patron-client relations (Degregori *et al*, 1986; Paerregaard, 2002a). However, on the whole, the literature has emphasised the strength and continuation of these networks and the supportive, cohesive and positive nature of these interconnections. As Gascón (2004: 58) argues, the literature has shown that “an understanding of the world of the urban migrant requires study of its interdependence with the rural world of origin”. Gascón identifies that the literature has focused on this interdependence by demonstrating “the communal cohesion of the Andean world” and by showing “how the migrant makes use of certain resources of his community, basically social links, that allow him to handle his activities successfully”. At the international level, studies of Peruvian migrants in North America and Europe also place emphasis on how they “sustain active social networks with family, kin and local communities in Peru”

(Tamagno, 2002: 106). However, Alcalde (2006: 148-9) is critical of studies in Peru which she argues have focused on migration as “facilitated by supportive kin and compatriots and on the maintenance of these support networks (e.g. Lobo, 1984; Gascón, 2004)”. In addition attention has also been focused on the male migrant and head of household (Alcalde, 2006: 149). Alcalde’s (2006) research represents an important break from this trend through a focus on women migrants in Lima, their everyday experiences as heads of household without social support systems, and their efforts to survive and escape abusive relationships (p.148-149). Ryan’s arguments cited in the previous chapter - that the actual extent of transnational living needs to be carefully examined (2010: 83) and how networks actually operate and work in practice (Ryan *et al*, 2008) - are also relevant here. With a re-focus on mobility within the country there is a need to explore whether there has been an overemphasis on the strength of interconnections between rural and urban areas, to examine the actual extent of these networks, how they operate in practice, and how they are experienced.

3.7.3 Intra-familial level

Studies have tended to explore networks and interconnections at the family and community level and through regional associations. Few studies have focused specifically on the intra-familial level. Although Lobo’s (1982) study in a Lima shanty town focused on family relationships, relations with family members living outside the community were not studied. Leinaweaver’s (2007, 2008a, 2008b) research on the practice of child circulation, which although is a study of kinship, adoption and fostering in the Andes, it offers valuable insights into kinship relations and mobility processes in Peru. Several studies on international migration have focused more on family relations. Tamagno’s (2002) study of family networks connecting family in Huancayo and Italy suggests that movements within the country can create greater physical, relational, and emotional distance compared to international movements, which in her case study appears to have strengthened contact between family members through regular telephone calls and sending of letters and parcels. Tamagno focuses on cultural livelihood practices, in particular the notion of ‘winning the affection of others’ and practices of ‘connectivity’, ‘being alert’ and ‘support’ that are key to these family networks (p.106). Carrasco’s (2010) research on migration from Peru to

Chile explores the emotional side of transnational family dynamics and “the influence of contextual socio-cultural and economic factors in shaping these dynamics” (Carrasco, 2010: 188). In particular she emphasises the emotional meanings of remittances. Carrasco finds that belonging to a family collective is central to migrants’ sense of self. These studies have been important in bringing an emphasis on family relations and in particular on how these relations are experienced and continued in these international migration situations. This thesis seeks to continue this focus on family relationships and experiences of these relations but in the context predominantly of mobility within the country.

Chapter 4 Methodological Journey

4.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodological journey of this thesis. It begins by detailing the WeD research programme and my involvement in it through a one-year placement with the Peru country team to work on the migration component of the research programme. The research has been an evolving process starting with my involvement in the WeD-Peru migration research, the development of my conceptual and epistemological thinking throughout this experience and my own subsequent analysis of the data, which guided a period of in-depth fieldwork on which this thesis is based. The research has been an iterative rather than streamlined process, moving back and forth between research questions, methods, doing the research, analysis, and the literature. In this chapter I try to capture the flow of the research process. After providing an introduction to the WeD research and my role within it, I detail my reflections from this research and how this has guided my research themes for the in-depth fieldwork. I then explain why I selected the research community for in-depth fieldwork and how I got started. I detail the main method used of ‘mobility stories’ followed by the sample. I then discuss issues of reflexivity, data analysis and finally offer some reflections on the fieldwork incorporating ethics, relationships and emotions. The chapter intends to convey the iterative and evolving process of the research, and provides a personal account of the challenges and experiences of conducting the research.

4.2 Locating the beginnings of the research: the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Group (WeD)

The overarching goal of the WeD research group was “to develop a conceptual and methodological framework for understanding the social and cultural construction of wellbeing in developing countries” (McGregor, 2006: 3). The programme entailed cross-national empirical research in four countries: Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru and Thailand. Within each country six or seven fieldwork sites were selected across a rural-urban continuum. The wellbeing framework is person-centred; it places the social human being at the centre of the

framework. Citing Bevan (2007), McGregor (2006: 9) explains that this ‘human ontology’

“recognises that people are whole persons with a biological, psychological and emotional constitution; that they are also social beings; that they are actively engaged in the reception, interpretation and construction of meaning; that persons are different from each other, both in their internal constitution and their social being; and that they live in time”.

The research methodology incorporated six components that were carried out across all four study countries: the household survey ‘resources and needs questionnaire’ (RANQ), quality of life research (QoL), community profiling, structures research and welfare regimes, process research, and income and expenditure research (I&E) (see McGregor, 2006: 27-33 for elaboration of these methodologies). The six elements of the wellbeing methodology combine quantitative and qualitative research methods across a range of different households and individuals in the communities studied (McGregor, 2006).

The ‘process research’ component of the methodology was largely qualitative and involved a thematic approach. For each study country a series of ‘wellbeing’ issues were identified for study defined as processes in which individuals and households engage as they pursue their wellbeing (McGregor, 2007). A sample of different individuals and households were then interviewed in relation to their process experiences regarding these themes. In the case of the Peru research, migration was one of the key themes selected for process research (the other was collective action), based on insights gained from within the study communities and from “cognisance of debates and discourses” within the country (McGregor, 2007: 343). I joined the WeD-Peru team⁵¹ for a one-year placement to work on the migration strand of process research. Table 4.1 outlines the WeD-Peru data collection methods.

⁵¹ The multi-disciplinary research group comprised several anthropologists, a social psychologist, development economist, and six field researchers who were all graduates in anthropology. Each field researcher was dedicated to one of the research communities where they lived throughout the period of the WeD research (2004-2006).

Table 4.1: WeD-Peru data collection methods

WeD data collection method	Description
Community profiles	Secondary data gathered about resources and structures in each community. Inventory of forms of social organisation. Seasonal calendars. Case studies of major conflicts in the community.
Wellbeing study (<i>encuesta de bienestar</i> , ECB)	Semi-structured interviews with 419 individuals across all seven fieldwork sites. Questions explored values, goals, perceived resources, happiest and unhappiest life episodes.
Resources and needs questionnaire (RANQ)	Questionnaire based interview of 1004 households across the seven fieldwork sites to collect factual data on household resources, basic need satisfaction, and life satisfaction.
Quality of life survey (WeDQoL)	Two rounds of interviews with sample of 550 individuals. Three-point scale closed questions on goals, values, adequacy of resources, personality, identity, and subjective wellbeing.
Migration study	Semi-structured interviews with 67 ^a individuals including migrants, return migrants and non-migrants with migrant relatives.
Collective action case studies	Qualitative case studies of one <i>faena</i> (collective action initiative) and one ‘Glass of Milk’ committee in each community.
Income and Expenditure Survey (I&E)	The survey involved three rounds, covering a total of 254 households. Included supplementary sections on durable consumption goods (R1), migration (R2 - sample of 71) and ‘Glass of Milk’ programme (R3).

Source: adapted from Copestake (2008b).

a: This figure includes 19 who were interviewed again in the Income and Expenditure migration supplement (9 males, 10 females), these respondents are not included in the sample figure for the migration supplementary section.

The research in Peru was carried out in seven diverse communities which traverse the geographical landscapes of the coast, Andean highlands (*sierra*) and the jungle/rainforest (*selva*) and cross a rural-urban continuum. Table 4.2 below provides a brief description of the seven communities studied, the next chapter will offer more detail about the sites (see p.119 and p.120 for maps marking the location of the sites). The names of the communities have been changed to protect anonymity of the interviewees.

Table 4.2: Brief description of the seven WeD-Peru communities

Community	Brief description
<i>Urban</i>	
Esperanza	Shanty-town located on the periphery of Lima's eastern zone (coast). Population of approximately 112,410
Progreso	Settlement located on the outskirts of Huancayo city in the central highlands. Population of 3,540.
<i>Peri-urban^a</i>	
Descanso	District centre and farming town in the Mantaro valley, central highlands. Population of 5,323.
Alegria	District centre and farming town in the Tayacaja province, highlands. Population of 5,440.
<i>Rural</i>	
Hermosa	Annex of Alegria, highlands. Population of 212.
Lejano	Annex of Alegria, highlands. Population of 365
Selva manta ^b	Hamlet in the district of Monobamba, cloud rainforest (eastern slopes of the Andes). Population of 560.

a: The term peri-urban is used because although both communities are town and district centres, most households are dependent on agriculture, hence they are neither fully rural nor fully urban.

b: Selva manta was the one community that I did not personally visit. This thesis focuses on the communities that I had direct experience of.

I was involved in designing, piloting and revising the interview schedules for the two migration studies and then analysis of the data generated (see Lockley *et al*, 2008). Refer to the appendices for interview schedules used. I reference interviews in the text by the first letter of the name of the research community (fictitious) followed by a number (e.g. E1 refers to interviewee 1 in Esperanza; A4 refers to interviewee 4 in Alegria). The first study used semi-structured interviews to explore the perspectives of migrants and return migrants, and non-migrants⁵² (rural and peri-urban communities) both with and without household members living away from the community. This provided a diversity of perspectives along the mobility continuum from immobile to mobile, incorporating those who stay, short-term and seasonal movements to longer term movements. Through exploring experiences of movement and staying it sought to gain an insight into the wellbeing tradeoffs involved in migration processes. The second study was included as a supplement to the Income and Expenditure Survey with a more structured format and a limited number of open-ended questions. I

⁵² The importance of studying those that stay as well as those that go has been emphasised in the development literature (Kothari, 2002, 2003a, 2003b; de Haan, 1999, 2006).

now turn to some reflections on this research to show how the research themes were generated for more in-depth fieldwork for this thesis.

4.3 Reflections and research themes

4.3.1 From migration to mobility and mobile lives

The process of carrying out the study and subsequent analysis of the data led me to want to move beyond the language of ‘migration’ and ‘migrants’ for several reasons. Initially we started to work with a broad definition of a migrant⁵³ as

“A person who moves away from his/her place of usual residence to another place, crossing at least a boundary of district, where he/she establishes a new residence, temporarily or permanently but for a period of at least three months”.

However, working with and operationalising this definition in the field in the piloting phase was difficult, it did not seem to ‘fit’ with how people spoke about and recalled movement themselves. Often people were vague about dates and durations of movement and defining migration as crossing a boundary of district was confusing for interviewees. Defining movement in this way seemed inappropriate to how people themselves spoke of mobility; it was unnecessarily restrictive and rigid. We found that people rarely used the term migration themselves to refer to moving to live in other places. Instead, people talked in more everyday terms and straight-forwardly about movement⁵⁴. Expressions included: leaving the community [*salir*], going to another place [*ir*], coming and going between places [*va y viene*], between here and there [*aquí y allá*], going to live in other places [*va a vivir en otros lugares*], to go away [*ir afuera*], and being away [*estar de viaje*]. These expressions convey a sense of routineness, naturalness and normality of movement in people’s lives. It was also surprisingly difficult to find people in the rural and peri-urban areas who had not lived outside

⁵³ This definition was developed through reviewing literature and the definitions used by the United Nations, International Organisation for Migration, and in the House of Commons International Development Select Committee report on Migration and Development.

⁵⁴ Following piloting and workshops with the field researchers we altered the schedule to ask more simply about the different places in which the person/relative had lived where the person had lived outside of the community.

the community for a period of time, or who had no family members living outside the community⁵⁵. Often, although people initially seemed to ‘fit the category’ of ‘non-migrant/stayer’ or ‘non-migrant with no migrant household members’, as the interview progressed it emerged that they actually had lived elsewhere or a close relative was living away. Although these categories were mainly ‘analytical categories’ (Carling, 2008) they were difficult to operationalize and it was difficult to find people who fitted neatly and clearly into these categories. A further issue is that a person could be all of these categories at different stages in their lives. Rogaly (2003: 623) similarly questions the categories of ‘migrant’ and ‘person who stays put’ in relation to seasonal migration for agricultural work in eastern India. Rogaly argues “this is because such migration inevitably involves doing both... life worlds are ‘stretched’ between places”, and that “the boundaries between migrating and staying put become blurred” (p.623). Rogaly (2003: 625) emphasises that such categorisations are not fixed but that they “change across the life course whereby over an individual’s life time, they are both a migrant and someone who remains in the home area”. I was particularly struck by the multiple moves and sense of an ongoing journey that people expressed in the interviews. For example, Filomeno, a resident of Hermosa (H15, 51 years old) was born in Lima, at the age of 24 years he moved to the jungle to work in the coffee harvest, he then made several subsequent moves within the jungle. At the age of 35 years he moved to Hermosa, his mother’s village, where he has lived for 15 years. He is now planning to move to Huancayo or Lima and several of his children live in Lima. How should Filomeno be categorised? a migrant, a non-migrant, or a returning second-generation migrant, is it actually helpful or accurate to try to categorise him as a particular type of migrant or non-migrant? ‘Migrants’ and ‘return migrants’ were often planning another move in the near future and ‘non-migrants’ were often actively planning a future move to the city or to the jungle. This is also further indication of the routineness of mobility and led me to start thinking about whether mobility and ‘mobile lives’ are more appropriate terms to reflect the nature of people’s lives in these communities than ‘migration’. A related issue is the extent to which ‘migrant’ is a label of self-identification. Firstly, there is the question of when one stops being a ‘migrant’

⁵⁵ This difficulty was found particularly in the fieldwork sites of Hermosa, Alegria and Descanso.

with the length of time of residence in a community, over time preferring to identify themselves as residents of that community rather than as migrants. As Smith (1984: 268) argues “presumably there comes a time when a Lima resident no longer thinks of him or herself as a migrant”. There was also a political dimension of the term migrant being used as a label and the meaning associated with this label (Wood, 1985). I found ‘migrant’ to be a class and racially/ethnically charged term, portraying a person of indigenous, highland origin, of a lower class and poor. The few interviewees who actually used the term ‘migrant’ tended to originate from the coast and used the term in a racially infused way to identify people who moved from the provinces/*sierra* to Lima,

“I’m not a migrant, migrants are those who come from Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Huancayo, Cerro de Pasco. Me? no, I don’t [come from there-*sierra*]” (Esperanza resident)

“Migrants are those who come from the *sierra* and live up in the hills”

(meaning the higher and poorest zones in Esperanza) (Esperanza resident).

This use of migrant as a label was a further reason why I decided to focus on the various places people had lived rather than defining a person as a migrant. In a similar way to Devine and Deneulin (2011: 61), I became concerned to move away from abstract academic constructs and concepts to understand how movement is “lived and experienced by people themselves in their daily lives”, to listen to the concepts people use that are relevant to them, to hone into people’s own experiences and perceptions of movement. I therefore chose to focus on mobility journeys as multiple, complex and ongoing moves (King and Skeldon, 2010) or ‘mobile lives’, rather than to segment movement by studying a particular type of mobility.

4.3.2 Relational narratives

When visiting the *sierra* research communities, talking with residents, and also from analysis of the migration study interviews, I was struck by how spatially dispersed families were, with one or several family members remaining in the community (village, town or urban neighbourhood) with other members living in or visiting Lima, and others being based in the jungle for agricultural work, and others dispersed in other locations within the country and sometimes abroad. The definition of household member used in the resources and needs questionnaire

(RANQ) was restricted to include only those members who were away from the household but were intending to return to the household. The migration study interviews however found that almost all of the close family members living outside the community (mainly siblings or children) had no intentions to return to the community, although some did continue to make contributions to the household in terms of sending or giving money and goods when visiting. The location of these family members outside the community was also important in understanding some of their livelihood activities – for example, locations of visits made, and their own future plans. In the piloting phase of the migration study we initially started working with ‘household member’ but found the RANQ definition for the purposes of a study of movement unnecessarily restrictive. Even without including the caveat of ‘those intending to return to the household’, there was ambiguity over who should be counted as a household member, and so in these situations we decided to ask about close relatives (parents, children, siblings, spouse) who had lived in the household in the past. Due to the spatial dispersion of many families found in the migration studies, I view ‘family’ rather than ‘households’ as being a more appropriate focus of analysis in contexts of mobility. I have also found support for this perspective in the literature. Mason (2004b: 177) argues that

“we cannot understand migratory and residential practices if we use only the individual, nor indeed the household, as our unit of analysis. People’s identities and practices are embedded in sets of relationships that do not fit neatly into and cannot be envisioned through these frames”.

Long (2008: 59) supports a focus on the cross-generational relations and networks that link individuals and families engaged in migratory experiences at different stages of their lives, how the lives of people who are at home or ‘on the move’ are interconnected. More recently Evergeti and Ryan (2011: 362) similarly support a focus on families: “rather than simple conjugal, nuclear or household units, families involve complex webs of relationships across generations and locations”.

A further dynamic was that in the narratives generated by the migration interviews a striking feature was how much people talked about the dynamics of interpersonal relationships, particularly family relations (see Lockley *et al*, 2008). There was a strong presence of a ‘relational layer’ in the narratives (Mason, 2004b: 166). Family relations often set the contexts for decisions about where to

live and whether to move, involving negotiations with relatives and sometimes family conflicts and arguments. In this sense decisions about movement were “inter-subjective in nature”: “migrants’ choices reflect not only their own situation, but also their orientations to their families’ perspectives and reality” (Evergeti and Ryan, 2011: 369). In discussing experiences of movement, people focused on how separation had affected their family relationships. In particular, the emotional impact of movement on family relations, the pain of being apart, loneliness, feelings of emptiness and loss and also the emotional dimension of goods and money exchanged as being expressions of personal affection [*cariño*] and love [*amor*] (Lockley *et al*, 2008). However, I was also struck by the lack of connection expressed in some interviews, not being in contact with parents/children for a number of years and the emotional impact of this. I have found Mason’s (2000) notion of ‘relational narratives’ useful here in conveying the nature of the narratives the interviews produced. Mason (2000: 12) argues

“people’s changing relationships with others act as the fabric from which decisions about where to live are made, and the decisions they make help to shape the fabric and form of those relationships thereafter”.

This is also supported by Larsen *et al*’s (2006: 270) argument that people’s residential biographies are “relational, shaped and negotiated with significant others, people that they care about and plan their future with”. It was these relational dynamics that I became interested in exploring further in the in-depth fieldwork, to explore further the dynamics of family relations in experiences of mobility.

4.3.3 Research themes

Building on insights gained from the literature – the migration-development debate, the transnational migration literature and the Peru literature on migration and mobility, alongside insights gained from the migration study interviews as part of the WeD-Peru research, this thesis is concerned with experiences of mobility predominantly within Peru with a focus on family relationships. In this chapter and the two preceding chapters I have sought to lay out my argument for a focus on the movements entailed in making a living, in sustaining a livelihood (Olwig and Sorensen, 2002), rather than to study a specific type of migration (e.g. rural-urban permanent migration). Drawing on the

developing argument for a wellbeing approach within the migration and development debate, and within the development community more generally, the research is concerned to explore the subjective/experiential dimension to mobile lives: to explore perceptions and experiences of mobility in people's lives. The thesis takes a specific focus to explore experiences relating to the dynamics of family relationships. This is informed by four concerns: Firstly, the Peru literature has on the whole emphasised the continued strength of social networks (family and community based) between rural and urban areas and there has been little focus on the family level. Secondly, I feel that insights from the literature on transnational migration and transnational families are helpful and significant for considering movements within countries as families become separated by often vast distances. The argument of the need to consider how networks are actually maintained and the actual extent of 'transnational' living (Ryan, 2010; Ryan *et al*, 2008), the unfolding of relationships, is also applicable to the Peru context where continuation and interconnectedness has been emphasised. Thirdly, within the wellbeing discourse there is much evidence that relationships are at the centre of wellbeing concerns. Finally, and related to this, findings from the migration study revealed strong relational dynamics in narratives about movement. The research was concerned with exploring the following two themes:

1. To explore people's perceptions and experiences of mobility over the course of their lives.
2. To explore whether and in what ways people continue and maintain relations with family living elsewhere and to explore people's perceptions and feelings about these relationships in experiences of mobility.

4.4 Selecting the research community and getting started

From the outset I was concerned to select at least one of the WeD research communities for in-depth fieldwork. The fieldwork process started with an exploratory phase (February – May 2006) of revisiting the WeD research communities of Lejano, Alegria, Progreso and Esperanza, to revisit some of those interviewed in the migration studies and carry out some follow-up case studies. I

started by spending time in Lejano (rural-*sierra*) and Progreso (urban-*sierra*) and then attempting to trace family members of those interviewed in the cities of Huancayo and Lima. As Thieme (2008: 67) argues “given the increasing incidence of multi-local households, empirical research also has to be multi-local”. It was through this experience however that I was confronted with the difficulties carrying out multi-sited fieldwork. On a practical level I found, rather surprisingly, that many people had no telephone numbers, addresses or contact details for their relatives, they just knew of the market or restaurant where they were working, or the broad area where they were living. It proved difficult and time consuming to try to find these relatives in Huancayo and Lima. I realised that such an approach would not work practically as I would spend most of my fieldwork time travelling, looking for people, trying to arrange meetings and so on. It would be difficult to achieve the intensity of fieldwork required (Fitzgerald, 2006). Furthermore, when trying to locate relatives living in different places in this way one tends to find people that actually do maintain links with each other and I was concerned to find out about discontinuities as well as continuities in relationships. I then turned to Esperanza, the shanty town or ‘human settlement’ on the outskirts of Lima. Starting at the urban end meant that I was able to find people who had discontinued relationships with relatives in the place of origin as well as those with continued links. Also, due to the size of the community I could meet people who had not participated in the previous WeD-Peru research and had not as a consequence suffered from research fatigue (which had been identified by researchers as an issue affecting the research and research participation). I selected Esperanza for the in-depth study. During this phase of the fieldwork I started working with Lida Carhuallanqui, one of the WeD field researchers (mainly based in Hermosa during the WeD research but with some experience of Esperanza)⁵⁶. Lida’s role as a field assistant solely entailed assistance with data collection and documentation (transcription). On our exploratory visits to different communities I found that Lida developed a great rapport with people, interacting well with people from community leaders to market stall holders. I decided that I needed a field assistant firstly to act as a ‘bridge’ between me and the community and secondly due to language issues. As Devereux and Hoddinott

⁵⁶ The WeD researcher designated to Esperanza had moved to Spain after finishing her work with WeD.

(1992: 16) explain, “foreign researchers need to know the language very well indeed before conducting interviews unaided”⁵⁷. People used much colloquial language, with intricacies and subtleties that I would easily have missed and not understood. Lida was invaluable in explaining these to me, she acted as “a guide and translator of cultural mores and, at times, of jargon or language” (Fontana and Frey, 2008: 132). Lida spoke Quechua as well as Spanish, this aided the research process since some residents were bi-lingual, an initial greeting in Quechua started off the introduction in a positive and friendly way⁵⁸. Lida also became an invaluable ‘springboard’ to discuss issues that had arisen in the interviews, forming and bouncing ideas off each other.

Rather than commuting daily to Esperanza from central Lima I decided it was important that we lived in the community, not only for practical reasons (it was a two hour bus journey at least from the centre of Lima). But also, as Devereux and Hoddinott (1992: 12) explain “showing a willingness to live among the community also breaks down barriers and reduces the extent to which the fieldworker is perceived as an outsider”. Living in the community was viewed as important to immerse myself in the day-to-day lives of the people (Creswell, 1998), observing everyday life around me, in order to situate the interviews, knowing and experiencing the context in which people were living. The first challenge was to find somewhere to live. On an initial visit to the community we met with Angela (E12, 19 years old), I had been given her contact details by Monica Guillen-Royo who had also carried out her PhD fieldwork in the community. Angela’s partner’s [*conviviente*] mother, Hilda, rented rooms in her house in the intermediate area of the community and there was a room available. We went to meet Hilda and to see the room. Angela, Hilda and her family lived on the ground floor, and several rooms on the first floor were rented out. The sole bathroom in the courtyard had a cold shower and a flush toilet. Our room had a corrugated iron roof and a blue polythene bag covering the empty space for a window (see photographs 1 and 2 below). There were several other lodgers living in two other rooms there, although we barely saw them as they worked long hours.

⁵⁷ From the start I had decided not to conduct the research with an interpreter present as I felt that would interrupt the flow of the interview and would also be vulnerable to “added layers of meanings, biases, and interpretations” (Fontana and Frey, 2008: 131).

⁵⁸ Several of the interviewees spoke a mix of Quechua and Spanish in the interviews which Lida was able to interpret and help me to understand.

We decided to take the room which was unfurnished. We needed to buy mattresses, a water container, gas bottle, stove, plates and cutlery which we bought from stall holders within the community. This was a useful way to start meeting people and to learn more about the community.

Photograph 1: Our room in Esperanza (door open) (author's photograph)



Photograph 2: Our room in Esperanza (author's photograph)



Angela became a key informant, showing us around the community, introducing us to her mother who also lived in the community and to her neighbours, generally helping us to get started. To begin the fieldwork we sought to gain the permission from 'gate keepers' to carry out the research in the community. Firstly, Lida and I

met the community leaders in the central executive council⁵⁹ to gain permission for the research. We subsequently visited the leader or president of the main neighbourhood where we conducted interviews to gain permission for the research within that area. We stayed with Hilda and her family for 2 months but then decided to move to the central area. Hilda's home was becoming overcrowded, her daughter had a baby and her *conviviente* moved in, they moved into the room next to ours. We also did not feel safe where we were living as we could not securely lock the door to our room. The house we moved on to belonged to a mother of one of the interviewees. It was a larger building with several rooms for rent. The room we took had glass windows, a shared flushable toilet and cold shower, and was more secure with lockable doors.

4.5 Mobility stories

“ ‘We cannot live other people's lives, and it is a piece of bad faith to try. We can but listen to what, in words, in images, in actions, they say about their lives ... It's all a matter of scratching surfaces' (Geertz, 1986: 373). ... there is so much more to learn from the stories and lives of others” (Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995: 131).

The broad research design was micro-level and qualitative in nature. In qualitative studies the emphasis is on “processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 14). As Mason (2002a: 24) explains, qualitative research is also “characteristically exploratory, fluid, and flexible” with decisions about the research design being ongoing and “grounded in the practice, process and context of the research itself”, rather than pre-planned and decided only at the beginning of the research process. Qualitative research is appropriate for the study of subjective experiences, perceptions and feelings. However, research on the quality of life has surprisingly been mainly based on quantitative surveys, asking questions about attitudes (how do you feel about a, b, c), and

⁵⁹ The organisational structure of the settlement will be explained in the next chapter.

satisfaction with life or levels of happiness (White, 2008). Camfield *et al* (2009: 7) explain that

“research into wellbeing and subjective experiences in developing countries is growing rapidly, and represents a paradigm shift towards holistic, person-centred, and dynamic understandings of people’s lives, which are nonetheless embedded in particular socio-cultural contexts”.

The authors argue that qualitative approaches are particularly appropriate for understandings people’s experiences of wellbeing (Camfield *et al*, 2009: 6). Qualitative research methods are also central to much work on transnational migration and transnational families. Narratives, life stories, ethnographic interviews and observations are all methodologies that are sensitive to the experiences of those who move and their families and can be employed to explore the “everyday realities of migrancy”, the experiences and emotions of those who move and their immediate and distant families (Evergeti and Ryan, 2011: 369-370). These methodologies are appropriate for the study of the dynamics of family relations and networks in migration and movement at the micro-level (Evergeti, 2008; Evergeti and Zontini, 2006; Mand, 2006; Ryan, 2010, 2011; Whitehead *et al*, 2007). As Ryan (2011: 82) argues, data derived from such methodologies “provides an insight into processes that statistics cannot capture, such as the dynamics within migrating families and the ongoing ties that operate transnationally”. Evergeti (2008: 117) similarly supports the use of qualitative research to explore “the complexity of transnational family ties and responsibilities and the way these change over time and with the shifting needs of different members of the family”.

One of the main recommendations of the recent World Migration Report (2013) is that “instead of being the passive subject of enquiry, migrants should be given the opportunity to tell their stories” (IOM, 2013: 176); it places emphasis on the experiential dimension. Interviews took the form of mobility stories or ‘personal stories’ (Ryan, 2004) about the different places people have lived over the course of their lives, in order to illuminate processes and experiences of movement (Ryan, 2004; Evergeti and Zontini, 2006; Mand, 2006). Telling stories is part of peoples cognitive repertoire (Kemper, 1984, cited in Polkinghorne, 1995: 13), a means by which people make sense of, understand and communicate life episodes (Lawler, 2002; Polikinghorne 1995). Asking people about where

they had lived over their lives was a good and familiar medium for people to organise and tell us about their life stories (Mason, 2000). Kothari and Hulme (2004: 32) identify the appropriateness of individual stories in covering more 'private' issues (personal relations and domestic life), and in disclosing the subjective aspects of personal experiences. Mobility stories are based on a life history or life narratives approach, linking pasts to present and futures. In relation to life histories, Kothari and Hulme (2004: 9) argue

“personalised narratives can provide evidence to explain trajectories and processes which have led to more recent events and even provide information which alludes to future aspirations Crucially, understanding the past constitutes a common sense method for interpreting the present”.

Narratives link past and present, the past is interpreted through the present and this past informs the present (Lawler 2002: 251). In this way, narratives “have a particular affinity with migration, for like migrants they move across time and place” (Mand, 2006: 1057). ‘Migration’ does not necessarily start with the actual movement nor does it end with settlement or arrival at the destination, but it is a longer-term process or journey which can predate arrival and carries on after settlement (Baldassar and Baldock, 2000; Burrell, 2006). For example, the psychological repercussions of movement can outlast the physical disruption and the experience of movement can carry a legacy which influences subsequent generations (Burrell, 2006: 23, 26). Migration therefore needs to be seen as a journey through time as well as space (Burrell, 2006). Viewing migration as a process involves seeing a specific migration as existing “as a part of our past, our present and our future, as part of our biography” (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993: 337, cited in Smith, 2004: 268). Similarly, Breckner (2000: 96) argues for understanding experiences before, during and after migration as interrelated rather than examining the different phases of migration separately (i.e. the decision-making process, the travelling itself, and the time of ‘integration’ into the new society after migration), this is what mobility stories seek to achieve. Mobility stories aim to gain more of a ‘movie’ of mobility experiences, as ‘ongoing moments’, a dynamic lived experience, rather than focused on a ‘snapshot’ (mobility event) (McGregor, 2007: 25-6). This aids us to understand the ways in which “wellbeing is in a permanent process of construction” (*ibid*, p.26) and how

wellbeing is “realised through the ‘work’ that people put into making meaning out of their lives” (White, 2010: 165).

Narratives or stories are not necessarily taken as an accurate representation of the past, they are not about revealing “the past ‘as it actually was’, aspiring to a standard of objectivity” (Riessman, 1993: 22), stories are not taken as simply carrying a set of ‘facts’ or truths, they are not transparent carriers of the experience people have of their lives (Lawler, 2002: 242; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Rather, what is important is the meaning conferred on these experiences (Gardner, 2002).

“When talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused, and get things wrong. Yet they *are* revealing truths. These truths don’t reveal the past ‘as it actually was’, aspiring to a standard of objectivity. They give us instead the truths of our experiences” (The Personal Narratives Group (1989a) cited in Riessman, 1993: 22).

As Lawler (2002: 249) argues

“Conventionally, the problem of ‘stories’ is seen to centre on ‘bias’: is the subject misremembering, misrepresenting or simply lying about earlier events? But this accent misses the point: there is no ‘unbiased’ access to the past. Indeed, the past is constantly worked and reworked to provide a coherent sense of the subject’s identity”

The question in narrative research is less ‘what happened’ than ‘what is the significance of this event?’ (Lawler, 2002: 243). This brings in the significance of interpretation. “Narratives are interpretive and, in turn, require interpretation” (Riessman 1993: 22).

Narratives are necessarily subjective. They are concerned with how individuals construct meaning from their life experiences, how they make sense of events and actions in their lives (Grbich, 2007; Riessman, 1993). This research was concerned with exploring and interpreting differing ‘lived experiences’ (Evergeti and Zontini, 2006) of mobility and the meanings of these experiences (Boyle *et al*, 1998). It was also concerned to locate these experiences of movement within the wider socio-cultural environment to explore how this context impacts on constructed understandings (Grbich, 2007). An individual’s subjective viewpoint is affected by the wider structural context or socio-cultural

conditions (Miller, 2000). Narratives are “shaped by the environments in which they are formed” (Burrell 2006: 16), therefore stories are not just about ‘the personal’, decontextualising individual lives, but about the personal in the broader socio-cultural context (Mitchell, 2006). Participatory methodologies within development studies place emphasis on people’s own perceptions and experiences, they are subjective, however, White and Pettit (2004) argue that we need to be cautious of these participatory approaches. In Chapter 2 it was argued that, as Boudieu’s notion of ‘habitus’ shows, social structures are deeply internalised and unconsciously shape experiences. White and Pettit (2004: 26) emphasise that we cannot ask directly about such profoundly internalised values, ways of seeing, taken for granted and common sense ideas which unconsciously shape experiences, but rather, they “are grasped intuitively, as they emerge ‘crabwise’ though the stories that are told”. Similarly, Riessman (1993) points to how culture ‘speaks itself’ through an individual’s story. Through stories it is possible to examine gender inequalities, racial oppression and other practices of power which may be spoken in terms that seem natural or ‘taken for granted’ by narrators (Riessman 1993: 5).

This section turns to consider what ‘mobility stories’ as a method entailed⁶⁰. As already explained people were asked about the different places where they had lived over the course of their lives. Mobility stories were intended to develop in-depth narratives covering the patterning of movement; how experiences of mobility are defined, expressed and felt; experiences of family relations and the ways in which people continue relations with family, especially close relatives, from whom they are spatially separated. The aim was to interfere as little as possible in the creation of the narrative (Ginsburg, 1989a in Riessman 1993: 31), to give interviewees sufficient space to produce narratives (Riessman, 1993; Lawler, 2002). The interviews were mainly unstructured with several broad question areas and probe questions if needed (Riessman, 1993). This was to allow the individual “to give their account in their own way, without the fragmentation of structured questioning which may lose the thread of the narrative” (Gillham, 2005: 45), to bring about fairly free-flowing narratives (Ryan, 2008). The interview tried to establish with the interviewee a feeling of a ‘conversation with a

⁶⁰ These were carried out between March-December 2007.

purpose' and encouraging them to talk on topics about which they have most to say (Devereux and Hoddinott, 1992; Mason, 2002). This enabled the possibility to follow up on lines of enquiry specific to the respondent's circumstances – which could not be anticipated in advance (Mason, 2002). However, the extent to which interviews were free flowing depended on how readily the interviewee 'talked'. Some, especially males, were not so comfortable to speak at length about their lives, and required more support, direction and prompting than others (Burrell, 2006; Francis, 1992; Gillham, 2005). These interviews became more semi-structured in nature. Other interviewees were keen to recount their life stories making it quite difficult and awkward to ask any questions at all (Burrell, 2006). Interviewees were not viewed as respondents but as story-tellers, narrators, the emphasis was placed on 'talking' rather than 'responding' to a series of questions (Chase, 2008).

Following the collection of basic demographic details (gender, age, marital status, main activities, education level, religion, members of the household), interviews began with a broad open question to invite a personal narrative, asking interviewees to talk about the different places where they had lived over their lives (Chase, 2008), starting with where they were born. Probing questions about mobility included asking where, when, and the duration of time spent living in each place; and the reasons they went to live there. They were asked specifically about the movement to Esperanza (when they moved, time of residence in the community, why they moved here). The concern throughout the interview was to turn questions about topics into story-telling invitations (Hatch and Misniewski, 1995). At times, interviewees were vague about dates, ages, and durations of living in a particular area, however, this was not seen as a problem, what was important was the sequence of events rather than the precise timing (Skeldon, 1990). When interviewees talked about their own mobility stories this often entailed talking about those people closely related to them – their partner/spouse, parents, siblings, children, grandparents, aunts and uncles. However, the interviews also included some specific questions about their relationships. These were also intended to generate a relatively free-flowing narrative. Interviewees were asked about who they turned to when they needed help or had problems. This question was included to ascertain whether social relationships and networks within the community became more important in providing support than

relationships with those outside the community. The other questions focused specifically on family relations. The term used when asking about close family members was '*la familia*', as Lobo explains "all kin may be referred to as *parientes* [relatives], yet not all *parientes* are *familia*" (1982: 101), *familia* therefore seems to portray a sense of closeness. Family [*la familia*] was defined broadly to include inter- and intra-generational relatives, across locations (Ryan *et al*, 2009). This included at times extending to more distant relatives who were felt to be particularly close, and to those who were felt to be 'like family', even though not conventionally defined as a relative, those with whom they felt a sense of family or relatedness (Mason and Tipper, 2008). Interviewees were asked what '*la familia*' meant to them. Questions were then asked about close family (mainly parents/children, siblings) including where they were born and where they were currently living, their experiences of living apart (prompts included: how they felt about being apart, changes in the relationship since living apart, how well they got on together) and whether and how they were in contact with each other (how they kept in contact, the importance of this contact, if they were not in contact, why not).

The interview concluded with presenting interviewees with a series of mobility scenarios or vignettes. These were hypothetical but familiar situations identified through talking to people in the community, the family we were living with, and through the initial interviews undertaken. The initial idea for this came from Finch and Mason's study on family relationships (1993). We asked what people in the story should do in the different mobility-relational situations, the aim being to explore perspectives of different patterns of family separation with movement, what came across as acceptable or 'normal' practices, and senses of responsibilities in family relations in these situations. Three hypothetical situations were developed which related to different family life phases.

The first situation was about whether a 10 year old girl living in a village in the highlands should move independently (without her parents) to live with her aunt in Lima to study. Questions asked included whether her parents should let her go; whether what they would recommend would be any different if it was a 10 year old boy who was moving to the aunt. The second scenario was about a couple in Esperanza with three young children finding it difficult to find work and deciding whether the husband or wife should leave the community to work in

another place which would entail living away from the household. Questions were asked about who should leave the household for work and what potential problems could occur when living apart. The final dilemma involved a couple with children in Esperanza. The wife was from Cerro de Pasco (*sierra*) and her elderly mother still lived there but had become unwell. Questions were asked about the caring responsibilities of the wife towards her mother, if these would be different if she was single, a son rather than a daughter, and whether she should do the same if it was her father who had been taken ill. Following each case we asked if the interviewee knew of any case similar to that described and if so, they were asked to talk about what happened – the realities of relationships in practice. The responses to these hypothetical scenarios were mixed, some struggled with the hypothetical nature of the questions, with understanding what was being asked. However I decided to continue with them because often the scenarios prompted many interviewees to talk about their own experiences or experiences of family or friends. In particular, for those who ‘talked less’ in the mobility stories, talking in the abstract in this way seemed to aid people to start to open up and start talking often drawing on their experiences, ‘filling out’ their own mobility stories.

Initially interviews also involved creating family trees or genograms with interviewees, recording information about family members and their relationships over at least three generations (McGoldrick and Gerson, 1985). We collected basic details for each family member⁶¹ – when and where they were born, and where they were living at the time of the interview. This enabled an analysis horizontally – across the family context, and vertically through the generations (ibid). They were a useful medium through which to get people talking about family relations. We collected 10 family trees in total but were eventually faced with a dilemma, building each family tree was extremely time consuming. Due mainly to issues of time, I decided to discontinue the family trees in subsequent interviews and instead to ask about where the interviewee’s parents, siblings and children were born and currently living which was more manageable and provided the information needed to build their mobility stories.

On average, the interviews lasted between 45 minutes to two hours, the shortest being 25 minutes, and the longest nearly five hours (spread over two

⁶¹ We gathered information about ego (interviewee), ego’s partner and children, ego’s siblings, parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles and cousins.

visits). Some interviews continued on second visits, through continued visits a stronger feeling of trust had been established with the interviewee. Interviews were not 'text book interviews'. They were carried out amidst the flow of people's everyday lives and daily activities. Interviews were held mainly in or outside people's homes but also whilst people were working on market stalls or in their own small shops. Interviewees were often preparing food and cooking, washing clothes, looking after young children, or intermittently interacting with customers and neighbours. The ideal of sitting quietly inside, privately, with just the interviewee, having their full attention and no distractions or interruptions was just an ideal, it was never the reality. A further issue was finding the best time to conduct the interviews. People were constantly busy and we were fully aware of how the interviews were an imposition of people's valuable and limited time. We found the best time to interview women was in the mornings when they tended to be at home preparing food for lunch, washing clothes and looking after young children before older children returned from school. It was more difficult to find men to interview as they were usually away working throughout the day, returning late at night. The family we were living with warned us that gangs ruled the streets after dark; they themselves rarely went out in the evenings. Concerns for personal safety meant that we only conducted interviews in the daytime. Men also worked on Saturdays while Sundays were spent with their family, resting, or socialising and drinking with other male friends; they were less accessible which is reflected in the composition of the sample (see table 4.3 on p.101).

On first meeting potential informants, the research and what would be involved in the interviews was explained. If they consented to partake in the study the interview was either carried out there and then, or a more convenient time to return was arranged. Before the interview started we explained that the interviews would be confidential and anonymous, explained that they did not have to answer questions if they did not want to and that they could stop the interview at any time. Interviewees were also asked before the interview if they would mind if we recorded the interview, we explained that it would only be listened to by Lida and myself and that the recordings would not be accessible to anybody else. 40 out of the 52 allowed the interview to be recorded. A small digital voice recorder was used and after switching it on respondents seemed to become less aware of it once the interview was underway. The interviews were transcribed

jointly by Lida and myself, and the transcriptions remained in Spanish for coding and analysis in order to not lose meanings or nuances in the translation process. We used a basic or minimal level of transcription rather than a more refined system of transcription (Flick, 2008). We noted pauses, interruptions, repetitions, changes in intonation and mood, and noted when the interviewee was laughing / crying. This stage was very time consuming but crucial in getting closer to the data, listening and re-listening to the recordings. Translation to English only occurred at the point of quotes going into the written text of the thesis, here I kept as close as possible to what the interviewee actually said and how they said it (Gillham, 2005: 127).

4.6 The sample

To aid snow-balling I chose to focus initially on a particular neighbourhood within the community so that people would get used to seeing us around, other people letting us into their homes, talking with us, to give them reassurance. Snow-balling occurred mainly through relatives or neighbours of those interviewed. Others were met through one of the *comedores* [communal kitchens] in the centre of the community. In snow-balling we tried to interview a diverse range of people in terms of gender, age and generation: men and women, young, middle-aged and older people were all interviewed. This included people at various phases of the family life cycle, single young people, young couples starting their own families, middle-aged people (married and separated/divorced) with older children, and grandparents.

The breakdown of the sample can be seen in table 4.3 below. More women were interviewed than men due to their greater availability as already mentioned. The oldest respondent was 81 years and the youngest 19 years old. The period of mobility covered in the interviews (memories of the oldest inhabitants) was over 60 years, from 1942 to the present day. A further criteria for sample selection was time of residence in the community, we wanted to speak to those who had moved fairly recently as well as more established residents. I chose to focus the study on a neighbourhood in the higher area of the settlement with more recent arrivals but also interviewed residents of the central, more established area where residents have tended to live for longer periods of time.

This also offered a relative material dimension to selection. I deliberately chose not to ask questions about people's economic situations (e.g. income levels, assets etc), I wanted people to be as open as possible in the interviews and share their experiences and I felt that asking such questions would hinder this and rouse suspicion and distrust. Conducting interviews in the higher and more central areas indirectly added a material dimension: the higher areas of the community are the poorest ones in the community whereas the central areas are viewed as the relatively better off areas or 'less poor' areas (although often still poor)⁶². Although this can be deceiving, for example, Roberto (E45, 69 years old) lives in one of the central zones but is extremely poor, he is living in his friend's house and is reliant on his friend's support; he has no relatives still alive. When his friend goes to work early in the morning Roberto also has to leave the house and wait for him to return in the evening to be let back in. He spends his days on the street and is dependent on a community kitchen for food. Further markers of material situation therefore came out in the interviews and also through observation of people's living conditions.

Table 4.3: Sample for mobility stories

	Higher zones	Central zones	Total
Male	12	8	20
Young (24 and under)	1	1	2
Middle-younger (25-44yrs)	6	3	9
Middle-older (45-64yrs)	2	2	4
Older (65+ yrs)	3	2	5
Female	20	12	32
Young (24 and under)	3	4	7
Middle-younger (25-44yrs)	12	4	16
Middle-older (45-64yrs)	2	4	6
Older (65+ yrs)	3	0	3
Total	32	20	52

All interviewees were Spanish speakers and several spoke a mix of Spanish and Quechua. The majority were Catholic and a small proportion were

⁶² Poverty statistics for the community will be discussed in the next chapter

Evangelical/ Adventist or simply stated Christian. In terms of position in household, most interviewees were either the head of household (male 15, female 7), or wife/partner of the head (16). Six were the daughter, son, or step-child of the head of household, three were the mother of the household head, one a sibling, and three were in-laws of household head, and one a friend. Most were either *convivientes* [co-habiting]⁶³ (18) or *esposos* [married] (14), although the boundary between these categories is blurred, some refer to a partner as *esposo/a* when they were not officially married. When detailing cases in the forthcoming chapters I use the terms that interviewees used to refer to their couple relationships. Eight were single with no children, six were single mothers, and six were widowed. Most lived either in parent-children households [23] or in extended family households [19] covering three generations with grandparent(s), parent(s) and children. Six lived with siblings and nieces/nephews as well as with their own partner/children; two lived alone and two lived with friends. In relation to education level, three had not gone to school, ten had not completed primary which were mainly the oldest interviewees, especially females, six had completed primary only. Seven had not completed secondary; 15 had completed secondary level education and were mainly in their 30s, males and females. Nine had achieved superior (post-secondary level) education, although of these four did not complete their studies. Two went to University with only one completing University education. Interviewees were engaged in a wide range of activities. Only three of those interviewed had secure, salaried work, two of these lived in the central zone and worked outside the community – one as a teacher and the other a security guard ('watchman'). Most were either doing low paid, insecure, temporary jobs when they could find them (in construction, transport, porters in markets, or factory work). Many commented that there was no work available. Most women's main activities were reproductive tasks (housework and looking after young children), often combined with other jobs such as washing clothes, street vending, running a small shop from their home or a market stall, and assisting in soup kitchens (unpaid). Four interviewees were studying and working at the same time. Many were involved in petty trading within the community and

⁶³ *Conviviente* is a general term referring to a partner or live-in partner, 'lover', boyfriend or girlfriend, or a spouse, they could have lived together months or years, with children or no children (see Alcalde, 2006 for further discussion of the colloquial meaning of the term).

in the surrounding area. Six of the older interviewees were at home due to their age/illness, or were caring for grandchildren.

The majority of interviewees originated from the *sierra* [69%], or had parents who originated from there [15%], as shown in table 4.4 below. Places of origin were mainly in the central and southern *sierra* – Junin, Huancayo, Huancavelica, Cerro de Pasco, and Ayacucho.

Table 4.4: Place of birth/origin

Place of birth/origin	N
<i>Sierra</i>	36
Coast	3
<i>Selva</i>	5
Lima (with parents from <i>sierra</i>)	8
Total	52

In terms of time of residence in Esperanza, the majority of those interviewed were long-term residents, 69% had lived in the community for six years or more.

Table 4.5: Time of residence in Esperanza

Time of residence (years)	N
Less than 1	4
1-5	12
6-10	16
11-15	7
16-20	10
21-24	3
Total	52

Given that the study was concerned with family relationships, it was important where possible to include ‘family clusters’ - interviewing spouses/partners, or another member in the family. Out of those interviewed, 18 people were related in some way to at least one other interviewee – mainly as partners, or mother-son/daughter, siblings (1) and uncle-nephew (1). The interviews covered 44 different households. It was also intended to interview family members who were visiting (but who lived outside of the community) however this proved difficult as often people tended to turn up unannounced and unplanned.

4.7 Reflexivity and positionality

The research process is inter-subjective in that both interviewer and interviewee, narrator/speaker and listener, jointly create the narrative in mutual interaction (Burrell, 2006; Chase, 2008; Miller, 2002). Taking a reflexive approach entails bringing out these inter-subjective, inter-personal dynamics of the research process, being thoughtful and self-aware of the ways in which these dynamics shape the content and form of personal narratives (Ryan, 2008; Maynes *et al*, 2008; Finlay and Gough, 2003). It is crucial here to consider issues of positionality of the narrator and listener which potentially influence the research interaction. As researchers, Lida and I are positioned by our gender, age, race/ethnicity, class and by our biographies, all of which are elements that shape the research process (Fontana and Frey, 2008) and add inevitable dimensions of power in the research relationship.

Lida's presence in the interviews aided our interactions. Lida's *sierra* origin was key in establishing rapport with those of a similar origin. Lida was an 'insider' in the sense that she had much in common with those we were studying. Lida grew up in Huayucachi, a peri-urban community on the outskirts of Huancayo. Her parents were farmers. Lida went to University in Huancayo to study anthropology. Lida had also moved to Lima to seek a better life and to further her education. These elements of Lida's biography meant that to a certain extent she could share and understand interviewees' experiences (Ryan, 2008). Lida often talked about her community of origin, and if the respondent was from the same area, they would talk about family names, which they often recognised, it felt like she was 'one of them', that there was an instant connection between them. Lida commented that she found it easier to gain people's trust in the higher zone and preferred working there, she felt people there were most similar to herself, sharing similar origins and culture. She once commented "it seemed as if I was in Huancayo, I felt happy, the women seemed similar to my mum". In contrast, in the central zones Lida experienced more distance in the relationship with interviewees many of whom had lived in the community for a prolonged period of time and/or originated from the coast and who tended to view themselves as *Limeños* [from Lima], Lida commented that she did not feel 'like them'. In these central areas we generally found it was more difficult and

challenging to find people to agree to participate in the research, people seemed more suspicious and weary of our presence. It is difficult to say whether this was because the area was more urbanised or because these residents were often among the relatively ‘better off’ residents of the community and subsequently more guarded and suspicious of strangers. Interviews with men were also more challenging than with women – not only in finding men to agree to participate in the research but also within the interview itself the interviews were generally ‘thinner’ than those with women, men spoke less readily, especially younger men. It is difficult to say how much of this is related to gendered differences and the nature of or content of the interview, Lida commented that at times she found it uncomfortable speaking to men about their feelings and sentiments. Or how much was related to us being females interviewing males. A male interviewer might have achieved a higher response rate and yielded more in-depth narratives from males. It was a weakness of the research to not have a male interviewer as well.

I was an ‘outsider’, as Lida said “completely different to us”, coming from a completely contrasting background and culture, I was differently positioned to interviewees by being a *gringa*, a white female foreigner. In some ways, this seemed to aid interactions and interview situations. People were intrigued about why I was in Peru alone, without a husband and with family far away. I recall meeting Rosa (E9) on the bus to Lima and the emotion that she showed when she found out that I had come alone to Esperanza. This reflected how she felt about her own daughter living in the United States, how she had travelled on her own, how she wanted to look out for me, as she trusted someone would do for her own daughter over there. This interaction aided our research relationship; we could empathise with each other and led to a successful interview later on. Similarly, Hilda, who we were renting the room from initially, on our first meeting repeatedly said how sad it was that I had come alone to Peru, that I needed to be protected, to be part of a family and around people. Being an ‘outsider’ also meant that it was easier to ask obvious questions, to ask interviewees to explain things to me that I did not understand which would have seemed odd coming from Lida (Burrell, 2006). However, being a *gringa* also displayed the huge socio-economic inequality between myself and residents of Esperanza and there was no escaping this highly unequal encounter (Gill, 1994: 13). Often residents had expectations that as a *gringa* in their community I was there to give them money,

that I was there to help the poor, why else would I be there? I was placed in the same category as other foreigners from international NGOs who had assisted the community and served to highlight our unequal relation.

Finally, I will consider aspects of my own biography to explain why I ended up studying migration and mobility. As Caelli *et al* explain, “a researcher’s motives for engaging with a particular study topic are never a naïve choice” (2003: 9) and a researcher’s biography filters the ‘data’ and our perceptions and interpretations of the research experience (England, 1994). A crucial part of my biography is a significant personal experience of moving when 15 years old, from a town near Bristol to a village in Devon due to my father’s work. This represented a big disjuncture and disruption in my life and became a key defining phase in my life – life before the move and life afterwards. I lived in Peru on and off, for a period of nearly two years. During this period I sustained a strong ‘curiosity’ (Goldstein, 2003) about the pull of Lima, and particularly why people had left the relative tranquillity, green landscape and resources (in terms of the availability of agricultural produce/food, lower living costs) of the highlands to the sprawling, dusty, noisy, dangerous, chaotic shantytowns on the outskirts of Lima. During the time spent in Peru I was again feeling uprooted, with a swaying anchor, trying to establish myself in Peru but to keep my life going back in the UK with my partner, family, and friends. Migration has moved from being a personal experience to object of study (Gray, 2008). These aspects of my biography mean that I am not distanced from migration and mobility as a subject of study.

4.8 Data analysis

As already explained, this thesis started with analysing data from the migration studies I was involved in as part of the WeD-Peru research which then informed the data collection and methods for this thesis. The research, of which analysis has been one aspect, has been a cyclical process (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). This section focuses on the analysis of the narratives elicited from mobility stories. Analysis was first concerned with gaining an in-depth view of each interview, a thorough understanding of each person’s narrative, building on the familiarity I had gained in the interviews themselves and through the

transcription process. This was an intense period when my only research activity was reading and listening to the interview transcripts on successive days. For each interview I wrote an outline or summary of the person's story including:

- Key demographic information
- Mapping of mobility history/pattern along a timeline including dates, where, what doing, and links/connections to the location.
- Mapping of close family relations (where close relatives were born and currently living)
- Significant events/experiences to interviewee, what repeated in story, what emphasised, what defined their experiences and shaped their narrative.

These summaries were hand-written on paper, rather than on the computer or NVivo [computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software CAQDAS]. It was often challenging to construct sequential mobility histories, moves were not always spoken about in chronological order and dates and durations were often vague and sometimes information was missing. Interviewees often jumped between the places they had lived in their stories, as Ryan (2003: 70) argues, "personal narratives are often inconsistent and confusing, rarely following any kind of chronological order". During this initial phase of reading through and getting to know the narratives I also noted key themes and ideas emerging from the narratives and started to construct a coding structure. The interviews were then imported to NVivo. I went through each interview again coding the key themes to emerge.

Narrative analysis entails representation and interpretation (Riessman, 1993): "the analyst creates a metastory about what happened by telling what the interview narratives signify, editing and reshaping what was told, and turning it into a hybrid story" (Riessman, 1993: 13). Interpretation involves constructing a version of what I think the data mean or represent, or what I think I can infer from them, it is a "reading through or beyond the data" rather than a literal reading (Mason, 2002a: 149). Analysis involves creativity, intuition and following hunches, it involves interpretations of the data. This entails exploring evidence surrounding the data, noticing inconsistencies, contradictions, changes of tone, 'how things were said' in narratives, considering the whole context (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). Analysis was concerned with how the wider socio-cultural context filtered through in the mobility stories (Grbich,

2007), how taken for granted, common sense ‘ways of seeing’ emerge through the stories that people tell (White and Pettit, 2004). Interpretation was also shaped by a sensitivity to the material, relational and subjective dimensions of wellbeing and the interplay between them. As White (2008: 22-23) explains “it is important to keep looking for and working to achieve connections between subjective, material and relational dimensions, while recognising that some of these will inevitably take the form of tensions and trade-offs between them”. However, the analysis was more concerned with drawing out themes from the mobility stories than being structured by an analytical focus on the material, relational and subjective dimensions. Interpretation was also sensitive to axes of difference within the sample including gender, class and race.

NVivo was mainly used as a way of organising and coding the mobility stories. It was particularly useful in starting the analysis process, coming up with ideas, hunches, ordering/organising data and making connections between themes. Coding in NVivo was only a part of the analysis process, as Fielding (2002: 168) explains “simply using CAQDAS does not mean the whole analytic process takes place ‘within’ the software”. NVivo facilitates and enhances the coding and retrieval process (Mason, 2002a). Coding was used to give analytical ‘handles’ on my data and informed the development of my interpretations and arguments (Mason, 2002a). Although I wanted to keep the richness of individual narratives, I also wanted to draw out a more general, systematic picture from all interviews (Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008). Codes were viewed as ways of seeing thematically across the interviews and were taken as ‘unfinished resources’ that could be further explored (Mason, 2002a). Coding was not about reducing the data but about ‘data retention’ (Richards, 2005) and opening them up to interrogate them further (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 32). Coding was ‘bottom-up’ with codes emerging from and assigned to segments of text during close work with data (Lewis, 2001). Some scholars view coding as inappropriate to narrative analysis. For example, Grbich (2007: 130) argues that rather than segmenting data into themes and other forms of fragmentation such as coding, “the stories which are told are complete entities in themselves and resist such processes”. However, coding into thematic categories here was viewed as just one part of the process of analysis (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996) – to search for themes across the mobility stories. Following coding I returned to whole case analysis, including

referring back to the summaries of cases and often working on paper copies of the interviews. The majority of the analysis was focused within each narrative, each mobility story, analysing each complete, 'whole' story, and the interconnections of events. It was important to keep the 'wholeness' of the data and to avoid fragmenting narratives and losing the narrative flow of what people say (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: 67-68), as Riessman (1993) argues narratives must be preserved and not fractured. Analysis was also concerned to provide "a balanced account of the interview that took place" (Gillhams, 2005: 7). The analysis and writing up process was interspersed with reading, going back and forth to the literature to further develop my perspective about the narratives, "an active and analysis-oriented approach to 'the literature' is an important part of the recurrent process of reflection and interpretation" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 110). Cases chosen to build the analysis around were to represent a variety of common experiences of movement (Sorensen and Guarnizo, 2007) and were not intended to be representative.

4.9 Reflections: ethics, emotions and relationships in fieldwork

"Learning and applying a kit bag of research techniques is one matter, but under the surface there is a myriad of ethical and methodological issues that have a propensity to emerge quite unexpectedly in day-to-day events that require a thorough thinking through" (Hedican, 2006: 5).

"Doing ethical fieldwork ... is not about following prescribed formulae, but precisely about thinking over the processes and situations that you are involved in" (Wilson, 1992: 198)

Having my 'kit bag of research techniques', once I was actually in the field, the context of the research raised challenges in putting these into practice. Throughout the fieldwork process I was constantly needing to think through what I was doing, why I was doing it, and how the research was affecting other people and what the research was meaning to them. In addition to protecting the anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewees, my understanding of ethics in

the research process was based on an ethical commitment or ‘ethics of care’ towards the community and interviewees. These commitments became more important and more pertinent as the fieldwork progressed and were important at each stage of the research – from carrying out the fieldwork, in interactions with interviewees, to analysing the mobility stories and writing up. My ‘ethics of care’ was based a sense of respect for interviewees, trust and honesty, to work with care, responsibility and integrity not only in the interview interaction but also throughout the research process (Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). Sympathy and empathy were also important in my relationships with interviewees, placing myself as far as possible into the perceptions and conditions of others (Wood, 2000). In the analysis, care was taken to respect respondents’ ways of constructing meaning in their narratives (Riessman, 1993), only making judgements that could be supported by the interviews, and not ignoring evidence when it suited me (Hollway and Jefferson, 2008: 100).

“Local-level research ... places the researcher and the researched in a social relationship. Coping with these relationships is one of the most important and difficult aspects of this type of research” (Francis, 1992: 86-87).

I have already mentioned the unequal nature of the relational encounter between myself and the interviewees, and this was a continual personal struggle that I faced throughout the research - being a European researcher in an impoverished urban area and the evident socio-economic inequality between us (Francis, 1992; Devereuz and Hoddinott, 1992). What could I give to them, and how could they benefit from the research? Why should *they* help *me* with *my* research? They were giving me their time and so much of themselves but what was I doing in return?, and that there would be ‘nothing in it for them’ (Razavi, 1992: 157). I chose not to pay people money for interviews, carrying on the practices of the WeD-Peru research in which respondents were not paid. Payment for an interview would bring in a power dimension as due to their poverty and need for cash, some people may have accepted to take part even if they were not happy to do so. Through discussing the issue of payment with Lida and drawing on her perception and knowledge of local principles of gift exchange, we decided

that it was more culturally appropriate and symbolic to offer small gifts as a way of thanking the respondent, reciprocating their help and time in participating in the research. Wilson (1992) recommends that if the gift is intended to “maintain a relationship as egalitarian, then only gifts that can be reciprocated should be given” (p.193) and warns that “gift giving – where not reciprocated – tends to take a relationship out of a situation of equality into one of patronage” (p.194).

Therefore, we thought very carefully about the particular gifts given. We took bread, pasta, fruit, cooking oil, or a bottle of ‘*gaseosa*’ (fizzy drink) for us to share together during the interview. On the few occasions where photos were taken we also returned with copies of the photos for interviewees to keep. I found taking photos quite difficult. Although it would have been beneficial to have photos of interviewees in their environments, with their families, it felt wrong, it felt that they became objects, and that photos of people’s suffering was unnecessarily exploitative (Davis, 2005). Aside from material exchanges, a further important aspect of ‘giving something back’ was to talk about my own culture and background, building friendships and trust. Being a ‘stranger’ meant that respondents were curious about me and where I had come from, what I thought about Peru and Peruvians. In this way, interview situations sometimes became “mutually informative dialogues”, two-way interactions (Devereux and Hoddinott, 1992: 19), sharing genuinely of myself as well as them of themselves (Wilson, 1992). “Researchers must share of themselves and their world, and be as prepared to entertain and be studied as they hope local people will be” (Wilson, 1992: 188). Whilst power differences are inevitable in the research situation, power can also be understood in “more relational, dynamic and positive ways” (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: 84). I was on the interviewees’ territory, I was dependent on their hospitality and cooperation.

From the outset of the thesis I felt it important to consider family relationships, those in Esperanza and their close family living outside of the community. Initially I had intended to select a series of case studies in Esperanza and to try to contact and visit their spatially distant relatives. I felt that in studying families that were dispersed, I should “follow as many members of the family as possible to establish a complete picture” (Vuorela, 2002: 64). The practical difficulties involved in multi-sited fieldwork were highlighted earlier, but there were also ethical ones alongside these. In many cases family relations were

characterised by conflict and disjuncture, I therefore felt it inappropriate and unethical to ask them to either put us in contact with them, or travel with us to visit members that had treated them badly, and who they themselves did not remain in close contact with. I also had to consider the impact that would have had on those relatives living in places of origin or elsewhere, to hear from their son or daughter after such a long time, with a researcher alongside them. With those who had more favourable family relations there was also the issue of asking respondents to give up work and their families and commitments in the community to come with me to meet their relatives. I would have paid their travel expenses but there are again ethical issues with this, giving payment would not only reinforce the unequal relationship between interviewee and interviewer but also could coerce them into accepting if they themselves lacked the resources to visit (which many of them did). I also felt that it was too much to ask of people who did not know me well and that for such a method to work it would take a longer period of time to get to know people and for them to get to know me. However, I still regard the fact that I did not follow through relatives in different places, to provide an inter-subjective account of relationships, as a strong weakness in my research. In this way both the research and my experiences of being in the other WeD research communities in the *sierra* was vital in contextualising the data from Esperanza, with many of those interviewed originating from the *sierra*, from areas close to or similar to the other research sites.

I also experienced ethical and moral dilemmas in my interactions with the family I was living with. This family would have made a ‘perfect’ case study for the thesis, Hilda was originally from Tarma (central *sierra*) and her parents and some siblings still live there. She has lived in Esperanza for around 15 years. Her husband left to work in the United States seven years ago and she has not seen him since that time although he regularly sends remittances to his family. We had initially explained to Hilda what we were researching and asked if we could talk with her. She agreed several times to have an interview but then never showed up at the time we agreed. Her ‘silences’ made me feel that maybe we had ‘hit too close’ for her, that it might have been too painful for her to share her experiences with us. In these situations, one has to do what they feel is ‘right’, morally and ethically, and so I decided not to pursue the interview with her. The fieldworker

part of me felt that this would have been an ideal case study, but then the 'ordinary person' part of me felt it was wrong (Hedican, 2006). A further difficulty in relational interactions was how quickly I became involved in conflicts within family relations and the tensions around trying to keep boundaries as a researcher, closeness and becoming too involved, again the blurring of the boundaries of a researcher and an ordinary person living in their home. This was particularly the case in my relation with Angela, our initial contact within the community and her mother Modesta who we also interviewed and visited on several occasions. As time went on Angela was persistently asking me for money – for health issues, for her baby, for her own family (mother and sisters). She would often come into my room and start telling me over and over again about her problems. She did not work as she was caring for her baby daughter. At first I lent a sympathetic ear and helped her out when I could but eventually I started to feel pressured and manipulated by her, Lida had also started to feel uncomfortable with her. I also found myself becoming frustrated with Angela because her own mother was heavily pregnant with her sixth child, and the other four children were all young, they were living in extreme poverty. However Angela did not visit or appear to support or help her, even though she lived just a five minute walk away and seemed to have the time to visit. But then I thought, 'who am I to judge the situation?' Later on I learned from Angela that she had a problematic relationship with her mother's partner, the father of several of her other sisters, he had physically abused her and she made comments that implied he had also sexually abused her. Then I could understand that she did not want to be in the house in case he turned up (he did not actually live there). Then I felt a sense of helplessness, not knowing what I should do, should I get involved? Should I speak with her mother? Or should I not interfere? Training in qualitative methods and reading methods books does not prepare you for these kinds of ethical and moral dilemmas, the contexts of doing the research, the feelings of ambiguity in fieldwork situations and how to respond to them appropriately, negotiating these complex research relations (Hedican, 2006).

I also found the fieldwork and the actual research encounter an 'emotionally charged experience' (Ryan, 2008). In the interview situation, interviewees often became emotional when telling their mobility stories, one even started to cry just when Lida was explaining what the interview was about. It was

not uncommon for interviewees, mainly women, to cry in the interviews, often recalling painful memories. I had not really prepared myself for such reactions and had to ask myself whether it was ethical to ask people about these upsetting memories and experiences (Burrell, 2006). However, although interviewing about distressing topics can have a negative emotional impact on interviewee and researcher, there can also be therapeutic benefits (Jones, 1998), “it can be reassuring and therapeutic to talk about an upsetting event in a safe context” (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: 86-87). I found that many interviewees seemed to appreciate being listened to, to have somebody genuinely interested in what had happened to them and listening to their experiences. The interview provided a context which was supportive and trustworthy, a context of a relationship with someone who was a listener (listeners), was not competing for attention, and by whom he/she did not feel judged (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: 87). At the end of the interviews we asked people how they had found the interview, many commented how it was good to have remembered what had happened in their lives, bringing back memories even if they had been painful or difficult ones. For example, Irene (E21, 65 years old) expressed that although it was painful to remember, it had helped her to talk about her past, she expressed a sense of ‘emotional release’ (Baldassar, 2008) from the interview experience itself:

“sometimes it’s good to remember the past, sometimes you stop remembering but you must remember [crying], it’s a help for me that you have asked me to remember [crying], not remembering is worse”.

Celia (E36, 40 years old) also commented that it had been good to talk to someone about her memories:

“it’s remembering the times that have passed, no? Sometimes, maybe we have a problem and there’s no one sometimes to tell [about it], for example I don’t have many friends”.

Reflections from Lida also revealed that she found interviews emotional for herself, sharing similar sentiments to those being interviewed about her own family and making her reflect on her connection with them. Interviewees also asked her about how she feels being so far away from her parents. Lida commented:

“I can call them (her family) but I don’t and this makes me sad, because also no-one calls me, and this makes me feel like I’m not important to

anyone, I was alone, sometimes I became really nostalgic when seeing how they spoke about the importance of the family”.

Interviews were sometimes also highly emotional for me, hearing stories of hardship, abuse and neglect was sad, upsetting and deeply affected me (Ryan, 2008). Once again it brought home to me the sharp contrast between my life and theirs. The emotional impact was not only felt in the interviews but also especially when listening back to the recordings again and again, transcribing the interviews. As Ryan explains, this listening back to the interviews can provoke stronger emotions than in the interview situation itself:

“Hochschild might argue that this is a case of emotion management, during the interview, as a professional researcher, I had to display ‘appropriate’ emotions. I had to engage in a good deal of emotion work to conceal the shock I was actually feeling. Later, at home, as I read the transcript I could display my true inner emotions and acknowledge how upset the story made me feel” (Ryan, 2008: 310).

On a personal level I also found the fieldwork extremely intensive, physically and emotionally demanding. Part of this was mobility being a lived experience whilst doing the research, living in two different and contrasting worlds – missing my partner, family and friends ‘back home’, lacking my own support network, trying to communicate with my partner with difficulties of the time difference and technical limitations – not having internet and so on, whilst at the same time trying to get on with fieldwork, to focus on being there and put all my energies into fieldwork, to immerse myself in the fieldwork setting. I was continuously concerned about how the research was going, was I doing enough? was I asking the right questions? what was I missing? whether my methodology was appropriate and so on (Devereux and Hoddinott, 1992). In Esperanza I was living and working with Lida, the fieldwork was continuous – it followed me into the room. I had many discussions with Lida following our interviews that day which was rich data, and an important part of the research process but often went unrecorded, telling me about episodes from her own life and her family, contrasting our own lives, values and cultures. It was difficult to find space for writing down notes, I felt like I was doing ‘round-the-clock’ fieldwork, and when I did find some minutes of time, I struggled to find the right words to express what

I felt and sensed, and time always passed by far too quickly than I could write down everything I wanted to (Takenaka, 2007: 154). The house was situated on a main road connecting the higher zones with the central area, there was constant noise, traffic, people, horns blowing, and we were woken at 5am each morning when a workshop across the road started playing the radio on loud speakers. Even though I constantly had people around me, I still felt a sense of loneliness, I was strongly aware of my different cultural background and feeling culturally different (Devereux and Hoddinott, 1992). Personal safety was a continual concern and worry, and I constantly needed to be 'on guard'. In Hilda's house we had no secure lock on our room door, I did not feel safe walking around the community alone, and we did not leave the house after dark (6pm). Robbery was common, and a kidnapping and several murders occurred in the community whilst I was there.

The chapter has shown that the research process for this thesis has been an iterative and evolving process, entailing analysis of the migration studies of the WeD-Peru research, reformulating my ideas, concepts and research themes, conducting fieldwork and then an iterative process of data analysis and going back to the literature. It emphasised the value of the migration studies in guiding my understanding of migration and mobility in the Peru context, and the significance of relationships, especially family relations, in these processes. This, along with insights from the literature, led me to explore people's experiences of mobility/movement over the course of their lives, with a focus on family relationships. The chapter detailed the process of getting started in the research community, Esperanza in Lima and sought to draw out some of the challenges of the context of the research. It detailed the main research method of 'mobility stories', which are based on a life history or life narrative approach, to explore the experiences of movements over the course of people's lives. These were subjective accounts of mobility experiences but were understood to be located in the wider socio-cultural context. Issues of reflexivity and positionality were discussed and the process of data analysis. Finally, some reflections were offered on the ethics, relationships and emotions in the experience of doing the fieldwork. The next chapter introduces the diverse fieldwork sites, focusing on Esperanza in Lima as the site of more in-depth fieldwork.

Chapter 5 The Research Setting

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides descriptions of the research communities Lejano, Hermosa, Alegria, Descanso, Progreso, and Esperanza. As stated in the previous chapter these communities traverse the geographical landscapes of the coast, Andean highlands (*sierra*) and the jungle/rainforest (*selva*) and cross a rural-urban continuum. The majority of the chapter focuses on the urban community in Lima, Esperanza, since this was the location of in-depth fieldwork conducted for this thesis. The empirical chapters draw predominantly on this fieldwork in Esperanza, however, this is supplemented at points with interview extracts and insights from the interviews conducted in the other research communities as part of the migration studies within the WeD-Peru research. Interviews are referenced by the first letter of the name of the research site (fictitious) followed by a number (e.g. E1 refers to interviewee 1 in Esperanza; A4 refers to interviewee 4 in Alegria). The selection of the communities for the WeD-Peru research was based on the notion of a corridor to reflect diverse conditions along an interconnected path linking the coast, *sierra* and *selva* (Copestake, 2008b)⁶⁴. The dimensions of diversity that were identified included

“altitude, ecology and natural resources; accessibility and integration with external markets; degree of urbanisation and quality of infrastructure; proximity to centres of political power; and the relative influence of Western and indigenous culture and values” (Copestake, 2008b: 17-18).

The ‘corridor’ identified runs east from the outskirts of Lima to the central highlands through Huancayo and along the Mantaro valley and then into the high *selva* (or cloud forest) on the eastern slope of the Andes (refer to maps on p.119 and p.120). The Mantaro valley has historically been the breadbasket of urban Lima with its thriving peasant agriculture and livestock raising and the communities of the central highlands have been central sources of migrant labour for the mines and to Lima as well (Poole and Renique, 1992: 78-9). As such, several of the earlier migration studies focused on this area (Altamirano, 1984, 1985; Long and Roberts, 1984; Smith, 1984). The selection of sites incorporated

⁶⁴ Another criteria for selection of the sites was based on locations where the researchers had previous experience and particularly focused on the Mantaro Valley and the city of Huancayo in the central Andean highlands (*sierra*).

a mobility trajectory of ‘sending’ or source communities and ‘receiving’ communities. This is displayed in table 5.1 below which shows the percentages of residents born/not born in the community.

Table 5.1: Place of birth of head of household and spouse/partner

	Lejano (rural- highlands)	Hermosa (rural- highlands)	Descanso (peri- urban- highlands)	Alegria (peri- urban- highlands)	Progreso (urban- highlands)	Esperanza (urban- coast)
Total number of people (n)	102	70	351	360	371	486
Born in this place (%)	96.1	58.6	76.4	88.3	0	0
Not born in this place (%)	3.9	41.4 ^a	23.6	11.7	100	100

Source: WeD Resources and Needs Questionnaire (RANQ)

a: This figure for Hermosa for those not born in the community (41.4%) appears high for a village context but is explained mainly by in-movement from the outlying annexes or other nearby rural areas commonly for marriage.

The rural and peri-urban sites are all linked to Huancayo as the nearest major city, mainly for education, work and trade. All the communities are linked to Lima, having family members living there, for trade, visiting/making trips there. Three of the communities were located in the Department of Huancavelica which has the highest poverty and extreme poverty rates in the country (84.4% and 59.9% respectively) (INEI, 2005, cited in Alvarez *et al*, 2008: 37). Through using data generated from the WeD-Peru Income and Expenditure survey a high rate of poverty was revealed among households across the seven research sites, these rates were higher than official statistics for the Departments in which the communities are located, and for the country as a whole (Copestake *et al*, 2008: 108-110, see p.109 for household poverty estimates).

Figure 1: Peru country map (the box highlights the location of the highland research communities)



Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/peru_pol91.jpg

Figure 2: Map with fieldwork sites marked



Source: Altamirano (2006)

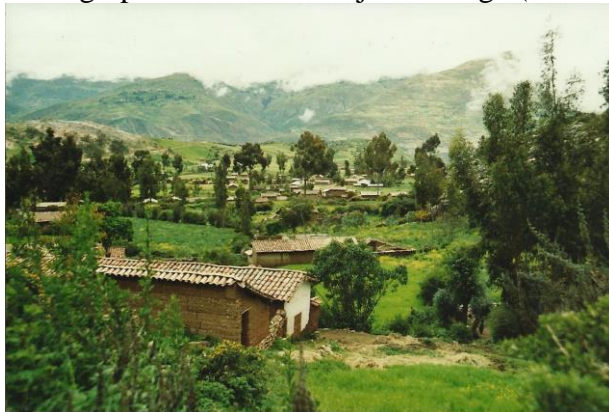
5.2 The highland (*sierra*) communities (rural, peri-urban and urban)

5.2.1 Lejano, rural *sierra*

Lejano is located in the Tayacaja province of the department of Huancavelica, at an altitude of 3500m and 380km from Lima. Lejano is the most remote community. The dirt road leading from Hermosa to the community often becomes impassable in the rainy season. The population is 365 and is mainly Quechua speaking. 90% of the population are Catholic and the remainder are evangelical (Alvarez and Paucar, 2005). An association of communal farmers holds most of the land, which is distributed among households and part is allocated for communal use (Alvarez *et al*, 2008). The main livelihood activities are agriculture (products include potatoes, peas, barley and beans) and livestock rearing. The village has a pre-school and primary school but both are in a poor state of repair, and a health post which is rarely open. Many children are taken out of school to assist with agricultural labour for the household, particularly at harvest time. There is piped water to most households but the community lacks

electricity and sanitation. The village is linked to Alegria for children to attend secondary school (often staying there the week and returning to Lejano for weekends), the weekly market, and to access health facilities.

Photograph 3: Homes in Lejano village (author's photograph).



Data from the WeD-RANQ showed that 90.9% of households made a visit outside the community during the previous year (involving staying away more than one night). The destinations of trips made were mainly to Alegria, Huancayo and Lima (source: WeD-ECB). A further mobility pattern is seasonal movement to the *selva* for agricultural labour to harvest coca leaves, coffee, and sugar cane. This movement fits around the agricultural calendar of the *sierra* (planting and harvesting) and tends to occur from January-March, and after June when harvesting crops in the highlands finishes. ‘Coming and going’ [*va y viene*] reflects the temporary, circulatory nature of this mobility which is predominantly undertaken by men and young people. Longer-term mobility to Huancayo, Lima, and the mining centres for mostly work and educational opportunities, has affected the community. Residents complained about abandoned houses, the lack of community members [*comuneros*] to participate in *faenas*, lack of young people to take on community responsibilities and duties [*cargos*], and the decreasing population (source: migration study interviews). These patterns of mobility have led to spatially dispersed families with members traversing the geographical landscapes of *selva*, *sierra*, coast and across the rural-urban continuum.

5.2.2 Hermosa, rural *sierra*

Hermosa is also located in the Tayacaja Province in the Department of Huancavelica. It is located at an altitude of 3300m and is 365km from Lima.

Hermosa has a population of 212, there are a total of 44 inhabited houses, it is mostly bilingual (Spanish-Quechua) and the majority of residents are Catholic (Alvarez and Carhuallanqui, 2005). The village shares many similarities with Lejano, agriculture and livestock rearing are the main livelihood activities; the infrastructure is similar although the village has secured access to electricity since 2003. Hermosa is similarly connected to Alegria for secondary school, health care and the weekly market. Hermosa residents showed greater mobility patterns in their lives compared with Lejano residents. In Hermosa it was particularly difficult to find residents that had no experience of living outside the community at some point in their lives. Data from the WeD-RANQ showed that 77.3% of households made a visit outside the community during the previous year (involving staying away more than one night) and the destinations were similar to those trips made from Lejano (source WeD-ECB). Residents show a similar seasonal mobility pattern to Lejano for agricultural work in the *selva* and many have also left the community to live in Lima, Huancayo and mining centres for work and education. This has similarly impacted on communal work practices [*faenas*] in the community which have declined.

5.2.3 Alegria, peri-urban sierra

Alegria is district centre in the Tayacaja Province of the Huancavelica Department. It is built up around the central highway connecting Huancayo and Huancavelica and is 355km from Lima. The altitude of the community ranges from 3000-3500m. The population of 5,440 is mainly bilingual and predominantly Catholic. Agriculture (main crops include barley, potatoes, wheat, peas, beans, and maize), farm labouring, trade and house-building are the main livelihood activities (Alvarez *et al*, 2008). Educational facilities include pre-school, primary and secondary schools, and an occupational education centre. Most households have access to electricity and piped water but sanitation is more limited. There is a health centre but the service is viewed as insufficient. There is no post office or bank and the public phone is unreliable. The weekly market to which villagers from Lejano and Hermosa travel, selling and buying produce, livestock and goods, also attracts cattle and sheep traders from Huancayo and is a main focus of activity in the week. Many residents of Alegria felt that the secondary education was inadequate encouraging movement to Huancayo to

access higher quality facilities, alongside for work/trade. There has also been movement to Lima, the central mines and to the *selva* especially rural areas for agricultural work. This is evidenced by the number of occupied households being approximately 350 whilst the number of private houses is 509 showing much non-resident ownership of property (Alvarez *et al*, 2008). Data from the WeD-RANQ showed that 70% of households made a visit outside the community during the previous year (involving staying away more than one night), the destinations of the trips were mainly Huancayo and Lima. Mobility also takes place to Huancayo, Lima and the *selva* during school vacations for work opportunities.

Photograph 4: View of Alegria community (author's photograph).



5.2.4 Descanso, peri-urban *sierra*

Descanso is situated in the Huancayo Province of the Department of Junin to the North of Huancayo, at an altitude of 3275m and 290km to Lima by road. Descanso offers closer and easier access to Huancayo city (17km away) compared to Alegria and is also located not far from the main highway to Lima and the central *selva*. The population of approximately 5,323 is mainly Spanish speaking and Catholic; agriculture (including potatoes, maize, wheat, pulses) and some livestock rearing are the main activities. The community has pre-school, primary and secondary education facilities, and a health centre. The majority of houses have access to piped water and electricity although most lack sewerage. The installation of electricity and water and the availability of schools and health facilities in the community have attracted people from the smaller populated centres within the same district and other neighbouring districts to move there.

Photograph 5: View of Descanso community (author's photograph)



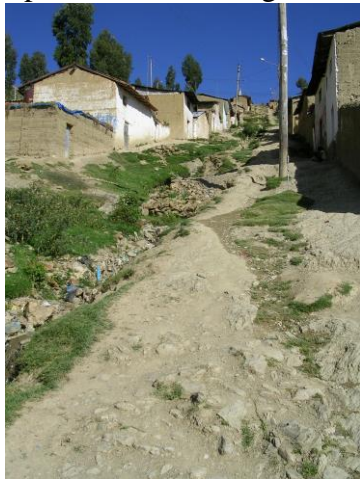
Some residents of Descanso commute for work and education to Huancayo, reflecting the general pattern noted by Deshingkar and Grimm (2004: 14) that “commuting has become a feature in many peri-urban areas and villages near cities and metropolises and the phenomenon is growing”. Data from the WeD-RANQ showed that 59.5% of households made a visit outside the community during the previous year (involving staying away more than one night). The lower figure here compared to Alegria probably reflects Descanso’s closer proximity to Huancayo allowing people to make day trips to the city rather than needing to stay overnight. The destinations of trips were mainly to Lima but also the *selva* and mining centres. Similarly to Alegria, there is a high level of movement away from the community to live in Huancayo, Lima, the central mines, and the *selva*, especially rural areas for agricultural work. There has also been some international migration from the community including to Italy, Argentina, the United States, and Canada.

5.2.5 Progreso, urban *sierra*

Progreso is located on the periphery of the city of Huancayo stretching into barren hillside at an altitude of between 3275-3325m and is 310km from Lima. Huancayo has been a key destination for rural-urban movement throughout the 20th century, primarily from the Mantaro valley communities and southern provinces (especially Huancavelica and Ayacucho) (Tamagno, 2002: 108). People moved to Huancayo in search of employment opportunities, education and better living standards, and found employment in agriculture, industry, mining and trade (Long and Roberts, 1984; Tamagno, 2002). As Table 5.1 (see p.118) above showed, residents of Progreso are entirely incomers, born outside the community

(source WeD-RANQ), mostly from rural areas (79.8%) of a different Department, especially Huancavelica, Ayacucho and Apurimac as well as from within Junin (source WeD-ECB). The settlement was formally recognised in 1986 and the population expanded rapidly during the period of political violence (especially 1980s and early 1990s) when people fled from the conflict in their villages of origin. The population is 3,540 and is Spanish-speaking although many are bilingual. 65% are Catholic and the remainder Pentecostal (Alvarez and Reina, 2005). The research focused on three of the poorest sectors of the settlement stretching into the barren hillside. External agencies recognise Progreso as a community of extreme poverty (Alvarez *et al*, 2008). Livelihood activities are mostly outside of the community including street and market vendors, construction workers transport workers, agricultural labourers in nearby farming areas, and cobblers (Alvarez *et al*, 2008). Facilities include a health post and a pre-school. There is a lack of electricity and sewerage and many homes lack piped water. Crime, alcoholism, domestic violence and drug-addiction are viewed as problems in the community (Alvarez and Reina, 2005).

Photograph 6: View of Progreso community (author's photograph)



The migration interviews revealed that some households retained land and homes in the village from where they moved in the *sierra* (mainly in departments of Junin and neighbouring Huancavelica) or established new bases purchasing plots of land in the *selva*, and return for sowing/planting or harvesting for around one to three months at a time, combining rural and urban livelihoods. Data from the WeD-RANQ showed that 57% of households made a visit outside the community during the previous year (involving staying away more than one night). The

reasons for trips showed it was common for trips to be for agricultural work including harvesting and seasonal weeding (source: WeD-RANQ) indicating continued links with rural areas. Again family members appear to be spread between rural areas of the *sierra* or *selva* and Lima. Young people also leave the community during school vacations either to go to work in Lima or in rural areas. People continue to arrive to live in the community, and residents leave to other districts in Huancayo but mainly to Lima.

5.3 Esperanza, urban Lima

Esperanza was selected for the in-depth fieldwork for this thesis. Esperanza is officially termed a human settlement [*asentimiento humano*]. The community is located in the ‘eastern’ zone or cone of Lima which stretches along the Rimac river valley and is part of the district of Ate Vitarte. It is situated close to the ‘Carretera Central’ (Central Highway) which leads from central Lima (20kms away) to Junin, the central highlands and the *selva*. From this main highway the community is hidden from sight embedded in the foothills of the desert mountains, like a forgotten people, excluded and marginalised. The settlement stretches from the lower part closest to the highway (550m altitude) up into the dry, rocky, barren desert mountain hillsides (over 900 metres altitude). The population is Spanish-speaking with many bilingual (Quechua and Aymara). The exact total population of Esperanza is unknown but it is estimated to be at least 112,410, although a community map/leaflet (2007) estimates the population to be even higher at around 150,000. The population in the 1993 census was 44,526 (Meneses, 1998), this shows that the settlement has grown rapidly throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium. The population comprises the lower socio-economic strata of Peruvian society. Poverty is widespread in the settlement. The official poverty line for 2005 in soles per person per month for Lima metropolitan was 275, and for extreme poverty 122 (Copestake *et al*, 2008: 109, adapted from INEI, 2004). Estimations from the WeD Income and Expenditure Survey for Esperanza revealed a per capita figure for income in 2004 at 157 soles (or \$46.2 using exchange rate at that time) (Copestake *et al*, 2008: 107). This figure is very close to the official extreme poverty line and shows how many in the community are ‘living on the edge’ (Ellis, 2003), close to falling into

extreme poverty. Using the same I&E Survey data, poverty estimates were calculated for households, as shown in table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Household poverty estimates (mean over 10 months, unweighted)

% of households [n = 63]	In extreme poverty		In poverty	
	Income-based	Expenditure-based	Income-based	Expenditure-based
Esperanza	49.2	69.8	90.5	96.8

Source: Copestake *et al* (2008: 109)

These figures are again much higher than national official poverty rates. For the same year as the data was collected, 2004, the poverty rate for Peru was 51.6% (INEI, 2004).

A census in 1985 showed that just under half of household heads were born within Lima (Alvarez *et al*, 2008) revealing a strong pattern of intra-metropolitan movement in the initial starting phases of the settlement. Data from the WeD-ECB (n=133, data collected in 2004) relating to place of birth revealed that the majority (72%) were born in a different province and department; just over a fifth (21%) had been born within Lima (same province and department), 6% in a different province within the Lima department, and 1% in Esperanza itself. Data from the WeD-RANQ showed that all residents who participated in the questionnaire (head of household / partner-spouse, n=486) were incomers, moving from all parts of the country – coast, *sierra*, and *selva*, but especially from the *sierra* departments of Junin, Huancavelica, Cerro de Pasco, and Ayacucho, and also from other settlements in Lima itself. The WeD-RANQ data shows the areas of origin to be mainly urban areas (86.4% urban; 13.6% rural). More specifically, urban areas referred to: major city other department 61.7%; capital city 14%; urban area this department 2.3%; other urban area 8.4%. Rural areas referred to rural area this district 0.2%; rural area this department 3.9%; other rural area 9.5%. However, the high proportion of urban areas should be treated with caution. Subsequent research in the community revealed that it was common in this community for residents to have a rural origin. It could be the case that in the WeD-RANQ study the person stated the nearest town/city or larger geographical area of origin as their place of origin. For example, rather than naming a village (often unknown to others), they would state more generally

‘Cerro de Pasco’ or ‘Huancayo’ as the region, or nearest city⁶⁵, which was classified in the data entry as urban. Many children and young people have now been born in the community. Data from the WeD-RANQ showed that 53.6% of households made a visit outside the community during the previous year (involving staying away more than one night) which was the lowest proportion across all the WeD research sites. The destinations of trips were widespread including the *sierra*, *selva* and coast, although most trips made were to Huancayo. Esperanza was the only community in which trips abroad were mentioned (in 2 cases). International migration was found to be fairly common in the community, with most people knowing somebody – either a relative or neighbour’s relative, who is living abroad, especially in the United States, Spain, and other countries of the Latin America region (source: own fieldwork).

The settlement was created in 1984. Chapter three showed the rapid growth of shanty towns in Lima throughout the 1980s which were often government supported. As Anderson (2007a: 223) explains, “much of the desert surrounding Lima is publicly owned, and the Peruvian government has generally been tolerant of such informal solutions to the country’s problem of housing the poor”. The establishment of Esperanza did not follow the form of an invasion⁶⁶ but instead it was formed through an ‘alternative urban model’, it was intended to be a peaceful occupation of an organised settlement, supported officially by the municipality of Lima. The organised invasion started on the 15 July 1984 with the arrival of around 10,000 poor families from other ‘popular’ lower class settlements, especially in eastern Lima; they arrived from Ate Vitarte, Naña, Chaclacayo, Chosica, El Agustino and the central slums [*tugurios*] of Lima. They were all members of a network of Lima-based associations of migrants [*asociaciones de viviendas*] already resident in other areas of the city. The right to

⁶⁵ A similar problem of misclassification of place of origin has been noted by Skeldon (1990). He cites the 1970 census of Malaysia in which some respondents identified as their place of origin the town closest to their previous place of residence rather than village, with the result being an artificial inflation of urban-urban and urban-rural flows.

⁶⁶ Collier (1976: 41-43) distinguishes three types of settlement formation: invasions – poor families group together, seizing the unoccupied land at night; gradual formation in which there is no well-defined event or moment when groups of families occupy the land; and government authorization which can vary from a government official informally suggesting that a particular piece of land is available for occupation and police will not interfere, to more formal government approval of occupation of land, when government or army trucks may even carry the families to the new area, in these cases formation does not take the form of an organised invasion at night (government authorisation).

a *lote* [piece of land on which to build a house] was secured by showing that they were an accredited member of one of these associations, they also paid a moderate sum for registration (La Republica, 1984; Meneses, 1998). The aim of this was to prevent the chaotic and disorganised growth of the settlement and invasion of non-members (Meneses, 1998). This created friction and conflict with residents of a nearby settlement, 4,000 of which tried to enter Esperanza but were rejected (La Republica, 1984).

New residents started arriving carrying on their shoulders '*esteras*' (bamboo/straw matting) and wooden poles to construct shelters, along with their belongings, and started to legally occupy more than 640 hectares of land in the area of Esperanza (Meneses, 1998: 154). The thousands of families that established this settlement comprised the unemployed, municipal workers/labourers, teachers, temporary workers, street vendors, traders [*comerciantes minoristas*], the retired, and families who were being evicted from their accommodation in the *tugurios* of the capital city (Meneses, 1998; La Republica, 1984). What they all had in common was a lack of a home and very scarce economic resources. Several of those interviewed for this thesis had arrived in these initial phases of the settlement. Even though it was an officially supported and organised settlement, they spoke of their arrival as an invasion [*la invasión*], "we came in a group like invaders", "we came to invade". Rosa (E9) recalled the struggle they experienced at the beginning:

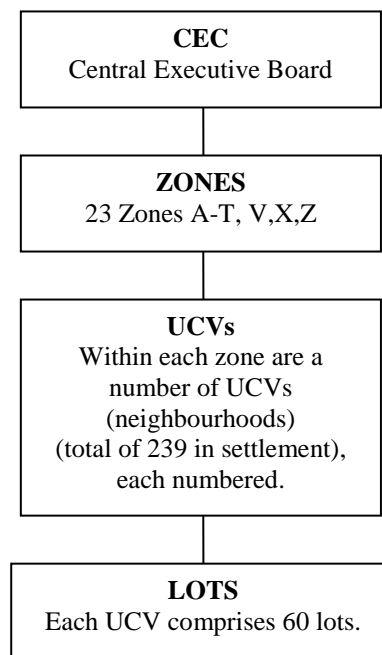
"Esperanza was horrible, [there was] so much sand, you sank in the sand, ... there was nothing here. We arrived in sectors, ... a group of 70 people ... we were sector 50, ... we had to always keep watch. ... We suffered so much in Esperanza to have it as it is now. ... We didn't have water, electricity, toilets, transport, roads".

The 'invaders' were told by the officials that they had to remain in the community day and night in order to secure their access to a *lote*, those who did not were thrown out and their *lote* handed over to someone else. Although many residents seemed to travel daily to the settlement from other neighbourhoods in Lima until they had established a basic form of living.

The 'special programme' of Esperanza [*El Programa Especial de Esperanza*] was officially managed and organised by the municipality of Lima, backed by the United Left government including the mayor of Ate-Vitarte and

mayor of Lima municipality (Ledgard, 1987; La Republica, 1984). The establishment of the settlement was organised through programme membership fees and a grant from the municipality of Lima (Arevalo, 1997). The settlement followed the example of the ‘Urban Self-Managed Community of Villa El Salvador’ (CUAVES) located in the ‘southern cone’ of Lima – building the community through self-management, self-government and communal organisation (Ledgard, 1986; Poole and Renique, 1992). The plans for the settlement began in 1984 and it was officially founded in 1985 when the official organisational structure of the community was defined. Esperanza is a self-managing or self-governing [*autogestionaria*] community. Diagram 5.1 below shows the levels of organisation within the settlement; see also the map of Esperanza, figure 3 (p.132).

Diagram 5: Organisation of the settlement



Starting at the ‘bottom’ level of organisation, central to the social and political organisation of the settlement is the communal housing unit/group or neighbourhood [*Unidad Comunal de Vivienda*, UCV] (Arevalo, 1997; Ledgard, 1986), of which there are 239 in total. Each UCV comprises 60 recognised housing lots, measuring 90m² each. In each UCV there is a communal area where members of the neighbourhood have meetings and hold elections. Each UCV has a board of directors [*Junta Directiva*] and a president or general secretary elected

by members of the UCV which changes yearly (source: interview with member of the Central Executive Board - CEC). The next level up of organisation in the community is the zone [*zona*]. The UCV's are divided into 23 zones, known by a letter of the alphabet. Each UCV in the zone is represented at zonal level by its president, for example in meetings to organise works for basic services. In each zone there is also an elected *junta directiva* and a general secretary that represents the zone which changes every two years (source: interview with member of CEC). At community level, inhabitants of Esperanza elect a central board of directors [*junta directiva central*] which is named the '*Consejo Ejectivo Central*' (CEC, central executive board or self-governing council). The CEC office is based on the main plaza, close to the municipality offices which were established in July 1998. It is at this level of the CEC that political struggles are most evident (Alvarez and Arroyo, 2005).

Figure 3: Esperanza map



Key to the growth and development of Esperanza was communal organisation and communal work. The onus was on the new settlers [*pobladores*] to organise communal work in order to obtain basic services within the settlement (Gispert-Sauch, 1996). The UCV was initially conceptualised as a ‘basic nucleus of social organisation’ (Ledgard 1986). The idea was that members of each UCV were individual owners of their respective *lotés* and, at the same time, collective owners of all the communal areas (streets, *plazas* – central squares, green areas, *local communal*, and services). People living in each UCV engaged in obligatory communal work, *faenas* were (and still are) used for digging out rock from the hillside to make the ground suitable for *lotés*, cleaning streets, and for work on schools and so on. Those who did not participate had to pay fines. *Faenas* were organised mainly on Sundays. Residents also worked together with the municipality to obtain water and sewage pipes, electricity, schools, a health post, and to secure land tenure. Women were central to organising collective work. Other collective activities organised by women included ‘common pots’ [*las ollas communes*], the seeds of the communal kitchens [*comedores populares*] and the rotation of women in looking after children (ADELH, 2000). Lucia (E3, 35 years old, eight years in Esperanza) spoke about her husband going every Sunday to the community “*faena, faena, faena, faena*, to work, to make the road, one thing and another, I came as well, they were improving, improving [*mejorando*]”.

Following the initial arrivals to Esperanza, the community received an influx of people displaced by the political violence from the late 1980s into the 1990s. They came mainly from the *sierra* – from Junin, Cerro de Pasco, Huancavelica, Apurimac and Ayacucho, and their arrival placed increasing strain on the settlement’s limited public services and transport system (Poole and Renique, 1992). This also created conflict between these newcomers and older members of the community. Both *Sendero* and the MRTA [Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru] had entered Esperanza, using it as a base from which to carry out attacks along the central highway and for military training (*ibid*). However, most residents were opposed to the activities of *Sendero* and MRTA. *Senderistas* openly declared war on the leaders of the CEC and they were against the status of Esperanza as a ‘self management community’. *Sendero* was responsible for the deaths of several community leaders of Esperanza. The Fujimori government (1990-2000) established a military base in Esperanza in

1991 and *Sendero* gradually lost its influence in the community. However, since *Sendero* had infiltrated the community this led to reduced governmental and international support for the community for a long time after the arrest of the leader of the Shining Path, Abimael Guzman, in 1992 (Manrique, 2002, cited in Guillen-Royo, 2007).

The settlement of Esperanza has now been established for over 20 years. The central or lower areas (zones A-F) are the most developed. Alongside the main avenues in the central area are commercial *lotes* – called *Unidades de Vivienda y Comercio* or ‘*Franjas Comerciales*’, these *lotes* are larger than the UCVs with an area of 120m². This commercial area now houses a bank, numerous shops selling household goods and appliances, clothes stores, grocery stores, and a central market. Homes in the central area have secured access to electricity, water, sewerage/ sanitation and many have phone/internet connections. They have gradually replaced their bamboo/straw matting [*esteras*] with homes constructed with brick and cement, progressively adding a floor to their home as they become more established, some homes in the central area now have three or four levels – a key sign of progress.

Photograph 7: View of central area of Esperanza (author’s photograph)



Photograph 8: View of central area of Esperanza (author's photograph)



In contrast, homes in the higher zones lack access to electricity, water and sewerage and are constructed from rustic materials including wood panelling and bamboo/straw matting, many homes are still shacks/huts [*chocitas*]. There is a public hospital, health posts and private health facilities and numerous chemists/pharmacies. There is a proliferation of education facilities, both public and private institutions for primary, secondary and higher education (Alvarez and Arroyo, 2005). School attendance is high, with 90% of the population of school age attending school, 5% of the total population is illiterate (Alvarez and Arroyo, 2005). There are three religious groups: catholic, protestant, and a minority of 'Israelites' [*Asociación Evangélica de la Misión Israelita del Neuvo Pacto Universal*]. The main Catholic church, the '*Templo Catedral de Esperanza*', is situated on the main plaza and was inaugurated in November 1998, A cemetery stretches into the high desert hills from zone Q (see photograph 9) and conveys a strong sense of being a cemetery of Peru's poor (Turino, 1993).

Photograph 9: View of the cemetery lying behind homes in Zone Q (author's photograph)



Minibuses and *mototaxis* operate within the settlement taking people to the central highway, although the frequency of service and quality of roads decreases in higher areas of the community. The settlement is well connected to central Lima and surrounding areas (e.g. Chosica). From the central highway there are frequent minibuses/buses into central Lima taking around two hours. 70% of the working population leaves the settlement daily or weekly for central Lima to work mainly in factories, retailing, and domestic service (Alvarez *et al*, 2008: 56). Work in public transport, construction and in petty trade/street vendors is also common. Activities within the community are mainly in retailing and services (Alvarez *et al*, 2008). Many women are based at home looking after children and try to fit in economic activities (e.g. washing clothes, street vending) around child-care and domestic activities. Seasonal mobility to the nearby mines in the highlands is also common.

Nearly a quarter of households are headed by females (Alvarez and Arroyo, 2005). There are a large number of young single mothers especially in the high zones and domestic violence is a major issue. 30% of the population is aged between 15 and 24 years (Alvarez and Arroyo, 2005). Many young couples live together as co-habitants [*convivientes*], some are married in civil ceremonies and a few in church weddings but this is costly and many cannot afford it. A quarter of households do not have enough food and depend on communal kitchens and food distribution programmes for survival (Alvarez and Arroyo, 2005). There are 253 ‘glass of milk’ committees and 250 communal kitchens [*comedores*]⁶⁷ (*ibid*).

Since the initial ‘invasion’, newcomers have been constantly arriving and more established residents leaving. It is becoming more common for residents to buy homes directly from their owners, especially in the more central areas. The intermediate area (zones G to I) (see photograph 10), and the high areas (zones J to Z) (see photographs 11-16) are the poorest, with poverty increasing and development decreasing the higher in the community one travels.

⁶⁷ Part of Peru’s National Food Assistance Programme (PRONAA).

Photograph 10: Intermediate area of Esperanza community (author's photograph)



It is in the highest areas where most of the more recent newcomers settle and are continuing to arrive, especially in zones R, S, T, V, X, and Z leading to extensions [*ampliaciones*] of these zones. As one of the residents of the central area commented, “up there they keep on invading” (E6, Justina, 22 years old). The higher zones are the least developed but are developing. Photographs 11 and 12 below show the main avenue in zone Z in 2003 and then in 2007 when the fieldwork was undertaken.

Photograph 11: View of the main road leading to Zone Z in 2003 (photograph: McGregor)



Photograph 12: Similar view of the main road leading to Zone Z in 2007 showing the sports ground (author's photograph).



Photograph 13: View of the periphery of Zone Z (author's photograph)



In these photos it is possible to see there has been some progress made, albeit minimal over four to five years, now having some access to electricity, a sports ground has been built, and trenches are being dug for the laying of water pipes. However, many of the higher areas of the settlement still rely on purchasing water from cistern trucks and storing water in brick tanks outside the entrance to their homes.

Photograph 14: Homes in Zone Z (author's photograph).



Photograph 15: Homes in Zone Z (author's photograph)



Photograph 16: Homes in Zone Z (author's photograph)



A large proportion of the interviews (40%, n=21) were conducted within a UCV in zone Z. The president of this UCV comments that “Esperanza is the heart of development but they forget their branches”. He views the centre of Esperanza as the tree trunk, the centre of development, but that the branches (zones z, t, x), the poorest areas, are forgotten, lacking water, basic sanitation services, schools, and transport. The UCV was established in 1992 and the population in 2007 was 1024 (source: president of the UCV). Inhabitants of the UCV have moved from all over

Peru - *sierra, selva*, and coast, but most noticeably from Huancayo, Ayacucho, Cusco, Cañete (coast), and within Lima itself. Also, young people from Esperanza had started to come to enquire about land [*lotes, terrenos*] available (*ibid*), to establish an independent home. There is some electrification and piped water via communal taps (not inside homes). Homes are generally constructed from rustic materials including wood and bamboo/straw matting, as shown in the photographs 13-16 above.

The collective work and activities that were so crucial to the development and building of the community in the initial phases of the establishment of the settlement, for example for preparing plots of land for occupation and obtaining and securing access to basic services, are now not as strong. It was felt that there was poor attendance at such activities organised within the zones. Residents complain that people do not support each other as before, and accuse the community leaders of seeking money for their own advantage (Alvarez and Arroyo, 2005). Crime, robbery, kidnapping, murder and gangs are all pervasive in the community. Alcoholism, domestic violence, drug consumption and trafficking are also seen as problems in the community.

Chapter 6 The routineness of mobility in the search to get ahead [*salir adelante*]

6.1 Introduction

Samuel: Like anyone they want something, they want an improvement [*una superación*] ... they have the impression that Lima gives you everything, the capital gives them everything, they seek to improve themselves [*buscan superarse*] ... What they're searching for is an improved wellbeing for their children, no? they say 'I'm going to Lima for my children to be better than here', no? because in Lima, in the capital there are more opportunities, and so they sometimes sell their homes, their fields [*chacras*], their animals, they sell everything".

Researcher: and this *superación*, what are they looking for?

Samuel: like any person, what I think they're looking for is to know other environments... Well, they want to go to an *academia*⁶⁸, a University or an Institute, or they want to be in a better factory where they pay more, or they want to raise their level of life, or know other people.... People come because of the centralism of Lima, there's water, schools, you can study, a better level of life, they dream of the capital, it's the ideal, to have your own home.

(E4, Samuel, 47 years old)

This quote from Samuel conveys the meaning of movement for many of the interviewees, men and women. It shows that although people inevitably point to the 'material' benefits to be gained from moving, these cannot be separated from socio-cultural idioms and perceptions captured colloquially in the related phrases of '*superarse*' [to improve or better oneself] and '*salir adelante*'⁶⁹ [to get ahead]. This chapter explores people's aspirations for mobility through the 'imagery' of getting ahead. *Salir adelante* can be considered part of a 'cultural repertoire' that people draw on "to interpret the world around them and give

⁶⁸ A year of study prior to University in preparation for the University entry exams.

⁶⁹ *Salir adelante* and *superarse* are semantic partners (Leinaweaver, 2008b)

meaning to their own actions” (Menjivar, 2000: 35). Mobility is integral to getting ahead. Takenaka and Pren (2010: 29) actually define *salir adelante* as ‘leaving to get ahead’ and argue that the idea denotes geographical mobility (moving to another place) alongside social mobility (moving up the socio-economic ladder). The authors argue that the notion of ‘leaving to get ahead’ has penetrated Peruvian society. Continuous movement away from rural areas has led to a ‘cultural imaginary’ (Thomson in Ryan, 2002) that in order to get ahead you need to move elsewhere (Sorensen, 2006). The first section of the chapter focuses on the routineness and necessity of mobility in the search to get ahead. Efforts to get ahead are focused particularly on children, to seek an improved level of wellbeing for one’s children through education. Central to the routineness of mobility to get ahead is the need to ‘make one’s own life’ and to ‘establish a life of his/her own’, obtaining an independent home is identified as a particularly valued element of this process. I then identify the central role of networks, especially extended family networks in enabling mobility to become routine. The chapter then moves on to show how, in addition to being an aspiration, the notion of getting ahead reflects a sense of resilience, a personal fight and struggle to overcome difficulties. *Salir adelante* is associated with a perception of the capacity to change and improve one’s situation, a capacity for agency. This is contrasted with the opposing mentality of ‘*conformismo*’ which is associated with a lack of a future perspective, limited aspirations and a lower degree of perceived capacity for agency. Finally, whilst getting ahead conveys a personal struggle and fight to ‘make one’s own life’ it has family relations at the core, getting ahead is based on a strong sense of care and commitment among family, a morality of care.

6.2 The routineness of mobility

6.2.1 The search to ‘get ahead’

Older people in rural and peri-urban areas reflected on the period when they were younger (around the 1950s-1970s) when leaving the community was less routine, less necessary, and when few people contemplated leaving. This was linked to a lack of knowledge about other places.

“the possibility to leave Alegria never came to my mind ... In this period there’s wasn’t the need to leave Alegria, because we had everything here and didn’t lack anything” (A15, Mauro, 59 years old)

“Before people didn’t leave to Huancayo, nor Lima ... There were some who went, but when I was very young I didn’t think about going, where was Lima? where was Huancayo? We didn’t know. Before mothers didn’t let their young children go and they married at the age of 18 years and they stayed forever in Alegria” (A18, Adela, 72 years old)

However, these Alegria older residents, like many others, report that now most of their adult children are living away from the community, this signifies a change in movement becoming more routine. The necessity to leave to get ahead is directly linked to material concerns: the lack of economic and educational opportunities in villages and small towns, the need for a monetary income, and a livelihood based on agriculture alone being unsustainable, as identified in the literature in chapter three. This is reflected in the repeated phrase of there being ‘no future in my village/town’. The harsh climatic conditions of the *sierra* also compel people to move. Poor crop production or harvest failure due to lack of rain or frost damage forced some to leave to seek an alternative source of income.

“In Cerro de Pasco we grew potatoes for our living, the harvest went badly and for this reason we were badly off financially, we had no money, my husband came first and got work, ... later we all came” (E74, female, 40 years old).

Pablo (E49, 69 years old) explains why he moved to Lima from Huancayo

“over there sometimes there was a lack of rain, there wasn’t a good production [of crops], business was very low, [there was a] lack of work ... we used to drink water from the river, no electricity, we suffered with everything, being far from the main road”.

Pablo moved to Lima to search ‘new horizons’ and ‘business opportunities’, seeking improved living conditions through access to basic services and infrastructure. For the majority, the desired place to get ahead is an urban setting and Lima in particular, reflecting the centralism of the capital that Samuel spoke about in the quote at the beginning of the chapter. Other related expressions used by residents of rural, peri-urban, and urban areas to describe mobility as a positive

transition included *buscar el progreso* [to seek progress], *mejorar* or *para ser mejores* [to improve or better oneself, to become (something) better], *ser algo* [to become something/someone], *ser profesional* [to become a professional], *hacer su vida* [to make one's life], *hacer algo en la vida* [to do something in life]. Manuel (E52, 24 years old) explains why he left the *sierra* (Huancayo) to move to Esperanza to join his mother:

“I’m the youngest son, I’ve been with him [father] until finishing school, there we went to the fields, with the animals, ...there was food to eat, but if you want something, to be a little bit better we must leave [*salir*]”.

These related notions of moving forward in life and improving ones’ situation convey a movement from “an unfulfilling life into a potentially fulfilled one” (Åkesson *et al*, 2012: 247)⁷⁰, a sense of potential wellbeing attainment. They signify a strong continuation of the socio-cultural idiom of progress identified in the early migration studies: the possibility of social mobility and progress through education⁷¹ and becoming professionals (Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Ames and Rojas, 2009; Collier, 1976; Degregori *et al*, 1986; Lobo, 1982; Martinez, 1969; Matos Mar, 1977; Mitchell, 2006; Osterling, 1980)⁷². ‘Professional’ refers to a broad range of occupations that require either technical, teachers’, or college training (Anderson, 2007a) and implies a secure, stable job with a salary: “professionals earn their money” (Edith, E20, 28 years old). Felix (E1, 40 years old) portrays the value of becoming a professional, to be a professional means that “you are going to live” [earn money], “to become something in life” [*ser algo en la vida*], and “creates other destinies, other directions” in life, reflecting a move out of poverty. More recent studies also identify mobility in Peru as integral to the process of ‘becoming somebody in life’ (Crivello, 2009), to making progress (Benavides *et al*, 2006) and in the search for *superación*⁷³ (Anderson *et al*, 2006; Leinaweaver, 2008a, 2008b).

⁷⁰ In the context of Cape Verde, Åkesson *et al* (2012: 247) find “emigration is typically perceived and presented as a strategy for ‘making one’s life’. The notion of life-making is associated with livelihood, but also signifies the transformation of an unfulfilling life into a potentially fulfilled one”.

⁷¹ The cultural value of education is well documented in the literature (Ames and Rojas, 2009; Benavides *et al* 2006; Crivello, 2009; DeGregori *et al* 1986; Leinaweaver, 2008a; Paredes, 2007).

⁷² Comparable associations of making progress through migration have been found in Ecuador (see Pribilsky, 2001, 2004) and Bolivia (Van Vleet, 2008).

⁷³ Anderson *et al* (2006: 46) define ‘*la superación*’ as improving living conditions, securing the future and social advancement.

The cultural value of education is central to getting ahead and to the process of ‘becoming somebody in life’ [*ser algo o alguien en la vida*] (Crivello, 2009: 12). Education is valued for females as well as males⁷⁴. Older women reflected on this being a change from when they were younger when education was more a male prerogative. Lurdes (E50, 63 years old) did not go to school as a child, she explained “before they didn’t make girls study, parents said ‘for what? they’re only going to learn to write letters to their boyfriends’”. Education offers the potential of a different path in life. Sofia (E17, 25 years old) imagined how her life would have been had she remained in her village and not moved to Lima for her secondary education. She felt she would not speak Spanish well, she would be working in the fields, would only be educated to primary school level and would have started a family by the age of 15. The value placed on education is directly linked to a desire for an improved level of wellbeing for one’s children (Anderson, 2007a; Crivello, 2009). As Crivello (2009: 23) argues, education is “central to disrupting the intergenerational transfer of poverty”. Mothers and fathers emphasise wanting their children to be something better than themselves [*‘que mis hijos sean algo mejor que yo’, ‘sean algo mejores que nosotros’*], to have a different way of life to themselves, a life based on gaining an education, and the possibility of becoming professionals and working in the city, rather than a life in the fields as farmers. Obed (P12, 40 years old), has three children aged eight and under, he moved to Progreso from his village in Huancavelica for his children to have a better life:

“The main thing is for my children, for them to study and be something better than us, because if we’d have stayed in Conayca the only thing they could have been is agricultural workers (farmers), in contrast, in Huancayo there’s many facilities to be able to study up to *superior* [higher education]”

Hugo (A8, 44 years old) explains how he wants to give his children “what I didn’t have in my childhood”. He had wanted to become a professional but had not achieved it: “my children have to be what I couldn’t be... if one of my children was a lawyer I would feel good”. The quality of education is viewed as being

⁷⁴ Although Ames and Rojas (2009: 16) emphasise that “despite the high value placed on education, gender differences are still strong among rural families, which impact on gender gaps in schooling in these areas (Benavides 2006)”.

higher in the cities, and in Lima in particular, where it is ‘more advanced’. In the *sierra* communities, many parents with young children interviewed were in a transitional phase, making plans to move (mainly to Huancayo or Lima), being in the process of buying a piece of land and establishing a base in Huancayo for their children’s secondary or higher education. However, many express a sense of ambivalence and unease about this state of transition and the need to focus their efforts to get ahead on their children’s futures. As Margarita (L15, 36 years old) comments

“the children are always going to want to be in the city so I will have to go. If my son wants to study in the city although I don’t want to I will have to leave”.

Antonio (A19, 30 years old) is married with two children (eight and ten years old). He feels he has ‘made his life’ in Alegria, his family are there, his children are at primary school, he has a job building houses, and feels adapted to living in Alegria. Despite being settled, Antonio explains that he is planning to move to Huancayo, “for my children to be better than me, at least for my children to go to university”. Even though Antonio seems content with his life in Alegria, he feels envy towards those who leave the community:

“because those that went are better than here, they have work, their children study in good schools. I want to be the same as those people who went, I want to follow their example, they went to become [something] better [*se fueron para ser mejores*]”.

This is further indication of mobility becoming more routinised and shows that the desire to get ahead has permeated rural and peri-urban areas (Takenaka and Pren, 2010).

6.2.2 ‘Making one’s own life’ and ‘establishing a life of one’s own’

Central to the routineness of mobility to get ahead is the need to become independent, to ‘make one’s own life’ and to ‘establish a life of his/her own’. This shows how mobility is linked to life stages or phases in family life. In relation to transnational families, Bryceson and Vuorela (2002: 17) highlight that decisions to migrate are often linked with reaching a particular threshold, including finishing education, coming of age, finding work, and becoming self-

supporting (see also Gardner, 2002; Davis Root and de Jong, 1981)⁷⁵. The routineness of mobility is particularly concentrated at the younger ages.

Movement of adolescents and young adults from rural areas towards the cities has been described as “an irreversible migratory movement” (Anderson, 2007: 118), suggesting a routinised or naturalised practice. The question is not whether to leave but ‘when’ and ‘how’ (de Haas, 2007, in de Haan and Yaqub, 2009: 6).

Table 6.1 below shows the ages at which movements cited in Esperanza mobility stories took place. It reveals that the majority of movements occurred when young (24 years and under), accounting for 69% of all moves⁷⁶.

Table 6.1: Ages when movements made for all moves cited in Esperanza mobility stories

Age – movement	Male	Female	Total	Total %	Gender % within age category	
					M	F
Child 0-14	11 (18.6%)	38 (36.5%)	49	30	22.4	77.6
Young 15-24	25 (42.34%)	39 (37.5%)	64	39	39.0	61.0
Mid-age 25-44	13 (22.0%)	18 (17.3%)	31	19	41.9	58.1
Older 45 onwards	10 (16.9%)	9 (8.7%)	19	12	52.6	47.4
Total	59	104	163	100		

Taking into account the male-female ratio of those interviewed (males 38.5%; females 61.5%) there appears to be a tendency for more females to move as children compared with males. This gendered pattern is related to the gendered nature of opportunities in domestic service and this will be discussed in the next section of the chapter and in more depth in chapter eight. Moves at other ages are more similar between males and females based on the male-female ratio weighting. The main reasons for child and youth mobility were for gaining an education and to find work. At this age, some move independently leaving their parents behind in the community, some move to join a sibling, in other cases

⁷⁵ Ryan *et al* (2009: 74) also identify family and life-stage factors as influencing decisions about mobility. For example, “For young, single people, siblings and cousins may be particularly influential in migration decision making. While, for older people, issues such as ageing parents and the emotional attachment to grandchildren may be more important considerations”.

⁷⁶ The predominance of movement in childhood/youth is supported by data from the WeD Resources and Needs Questionnaire (RANQ). In the three rural communities, household members who were currently away from the community tended to be young, single, and were sons or daughters of the head of the household.

either the whole family relocates or one parent moves with the child/children whilst the rest of the family remains in the community ('split families'). In the Esperanza mobility stories, of the 113 movements that were made when young (24 years old and under) 71% entailed parent-child separation⁷⁷. In terms of moves made as children (0-14 years old), 31 (60%) interviewees moved as children. Of these, 16 (11 female, 5 male) moved with family or to join a parent or sibling and 15 moved independently (without parents/siblings) (11 female and 4 male). Mobility when young, especially for those who left their parents behind in the community, is referred to as a time of freedom, fun, experimentation, exploration and adventure. Movement is associated with having experience, especially experiencing the city, learning about life and gaining knowledge, alongside accessing education. Mobility is viewed by parents and children as central to gaining independence and taking a first step in 'making their own lives'. Movement as a rite of passage during youth, as central to the transition from youth to adulthood, is well documented in the literature (Anderson *et al*, 2006; Paerregaard, 1997). Movement is "an indispensable experience in becoming an adult" (Paerregaard, 1997: 42-43)⁷⁸. I was particularly struck however by how early this transition starts for some in childhood. Ida (E16, 27 years old) recalls how at the age of six she left her village to go to Arequipa city with a *señora* [lady] for domestic work

"I wanted to go, I wanted to go, because I'd seen photos, I saw cars, cities, parks, everything, how nice! I'm going! ... to see buildings, other things, well new things, no? Because in the village, it's a village, there isn't, well, it's all little houses, fields, animals, and I always used to imagine, no? how the city would be"

Maria (E2, 33 years old) recalls that when she was 12 years old an aunt returned to her village in Cusco and took her to Lima:

"for secondary school I came here ... When she came from Lima, we said 'take me! take me! ... and she took us, my aunt took me and another aunt took my sister'".

⁷⁷ The emotional impact of parent-child separation is explored in chapter eight.

⁷⁸ Similar patterns of movement in youth transitions have been found in Ecuador (see Pribilsky, 2004) and Bolivia (see Punch, 2002).

Ida's and Maria's recollections compare with Leinaweaver's (2007: 378) finding that many young people "had a conception of themselves as either engineering or actively consenting to their relocations". Nicolas (E29, 38 years old) was born in Lima and spent his childhood and adolescence moving around various aunts and cousins in other districts of Lima and the highlands of Lima. He explains

"It was like an adventure for me to be going from one place to another ... I became independent very young"

Nicolas started working from the age of eight years old, but emphasises that his parents did not tell him to, it was his own decision, he went on his own account, he emphasises the freedom it gave him being away from his parents, and that he's searched a life of his own. These examples show that some demonstrated fairly independent childhoods at an early age, supporting Lobo's (1982:122) finding of a period of transition between completely dependent infancy to relatively independent childhood. Parents view mobility as being for their child's 'own good' [*para su bien*], as part of the process of 'making their own lives'. One mother in Esperanza comments about her son of 16 years old moving to an urban coastal area, "I'm conscious that my son has to make his life [*tiene que hacer su vida*]" (E72, 32 years old). Miguel (E18, 25 years old) moved at the age of 11 from his village to the city of Ayacucho. He reflects that leaving home was for his own good because "I learned about life, I learned to work, to *salir adelante*". An expression that seemed to be used particularly in relation to daughters was the value of mobility for education and work so that they could 'defend themselves' [*que se defiendan*], being able to look after themselves, support themselves through earning their own living and not needing to be dependent on a man, or their parents. Lizbet (E46, 48 years old) emphasised how she wanted her daughter to study even just a short course with which she would defend herself [*se defiende*] through working and getting ahead.

Mobility is also routinised at the life phase of finding a partner and starting a family. Here the emphasis is on seeking stability and getting established [*estabilidad; establecerse*] in terms of a job, one's own home, and later on securing children's access to education. Some return to their place of origin for marriage following a period of child/young mobility. A father in Hermosa (H8, 56 years old) explains how he made multiple moves since the age of 11 years to several different urban areas of the *sierra*, to Lima and to the *selva* for work. On a

return visit to Hermosa in his late 20s he met his wife and decided to return to marry her and start a family. Owning an independent home [*casa propia*] is a central and particularly valued element of making one's own life and becoming established, especially when meeting a partner, to live together [*convivir*], and provides a base from which to start a family. Sofia (E17, 25 years old) explains

“My goal was always to have my own home but not in the *selva* or the *sierra*, but at least here in the city, I'm here although it's at the top of the hill but it's my home”.

Interviewees, especially males, emphasise the need to be self-supporting and not to be dependent on others. Nicolas (E29, 38 years old) has lived in Esperanza for 17 years, he explains

“I came to Esperanza because I had a family ... we were young, a family, no? ... thinking about the future, we were thinking to become independent [*independizarnos*] ... and so we came to Esperanza ... we'd wanted to have our own home, an independent family. But now, I have my independent home here, it's mine, no?”

Mario (E26, 30 years old) emphasises the need to be independent now that he has started his own family:

“how am I going to live with them [his birth family] if I have my family. How am I going to live with my mum now that I have my daughter and my wife, I must live apart.”

Blondet (1990) identifies establishing a family and building a life as a key component of 'to be something'. 'Making one's life' [*hacer su vida*] and getting established through owning a home comes across in the interviews as a key component of getting ahead and is important for males and females. Paerregaard (2007) similarly argues that alongside making progress, getting an education and making money, *progresar* also means to *establish a life of his/her own* (my emphasis). Carlos (E51, 28 years old) has lived in Esperanza for four years, he emphasises that he moved with his wife to Esperanza from another district within Lima 'to make my home': “with my wife, we said better that we buy a *lote* and make something of our own” [*hacemos algo propio de nosotros*].

It seems that establishing an independent home is particularly valued due to the time, effort and struggle that this process entails. Dimensions of struggle include making several moves (most commonly within Lima itself) often living

with others, to accumulate the resources and make the connections needed to secure and purchase a *lote* [piece of land on which to construct a home]. The majority of Esperanza residents interviewed had moved to the community from another area within Lima, showing a pattern of intra-metropolitan movement (see Table 6.2)⁷⁹.

Table 6.2: Geographical location of where Esperanza residents were living before moving to Esperanza

Movement to Esperanza from:	N	%
Within Lima	34	65.4%
Sierra	11	21.2%
Selva	4	7.7%
Other coast	1	1.9%
Abroad (Argentina)	1	1.9%
Born in Esperanza	1	1.9%
Total	52	100

Source: Esperanza mobility stories

Many had also made multiple movements as shown in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3: Number of movements made in Esperanza mobility stories

Movement	Total
Single movement to Esperanza	8
Move to Lima, then moves within Lima	10
Multiple movements	34
Total	52

Multiple mobilities can be considered steps in the process of making one's own life, in particular in obtaining one's own home. Before moving to Esperanza many had lived with other relatives often in crowded conditions, or living in cramped conditions in a rented room. Rosa (E9), 50 years old, originally from Cerro de Pasco (*sierra*) moved to Lima as a child to join her brother, she subsequently made several moves around Lima before obtaining her own home in Esperanza where she has lived for 22 years:

“I came to Esperanza, looking for a property, I was living in a rented house, I was searching for my property, something of my own, a home for me... with my husband. We were living in San Martin in my aunt and

⁷⁹ Deshingkar and Grimm (2004: 13) identify a recent pattern of intra-metropolitan movement: “Due to the size of metropolitan agglomerations in Latin America, a large fraction of migration takes place between small administrative divisions within the same metropolises, such as ... Lima”.

uncle's house, and in La Victoria we lived in my marriage *padrino's* home, it wasn't my home, I wanted my home and so I came to Esperanza". The independence and autonomy gained from owning a home was valued by men and women, for example, being able to live 'how I want to', 'living with whom I want' and 'nobody criticises me'. Several residents also mentioned a sense of financial freedom of not having the worry or struggle of paying rent, especially when lacking secure, stable work and not having a regular income. The process of obtaining a *lote* [plot of land for building a house], building a home and securing access to basic services, takes many years to accomplish (as detailed in chapter five) and one that many struggle to achieve. The ideal home is one constructed from brick and cement [*material noble*] with 'all the services' (water supply, electricity and basic sanitation). Celia (E36, 40 years old) has lived in Esperanza for seven years but had purchased her *lote* with her husband several years earlier. She explains

"when I arrived to live here, it wasn't like this, well, the road wasn't built, the garden was just sand, nothing more, there was no water, nor drainage, they were just putting in electricity, and well, like this I arrived to live here, until we had established ourselves [*establecerse*]".

Many of those living in the higher areas of the community still lack access to basic services even though they have lived there for many years. For example, Felix (E1, 40 years old) has lived in his home for ten years in zone Z, his home is a wooden shack with two rooms which was donated by the Catholic church, with electricity but no drainage, his water supply is from a communal tap in the street. Due to the time, resources and effort it takes to secure one's own home, to some extent having a '*casa propia*' limits or halts movement. Rosa (E9, 50 years old) has lived in Esperanza for 22 years, she plans to remain there even though most of her close family now live in the United States. Rosa emphasises "I've suffered so much, we've suffered in Esperanza to have what we have now". A further reason why owning a home seems to restrict movement is that the community leaders require residents to occupy their *lotes* or risk losing them. Several cases of losing land or disputes of land were mentioned, for example, when returning after a period of time working away only to find their plot (*lote*) had been passed on to somebody else. This also means that *lotes* are often transferred to other relatives to prevent this from happening. For example, Isabel (E39, 38 years old) moved to

Esperanza to take care of her brother's *lote*, he is living in the United States and he later passed the land into her name "so that other people wouldn't interfere". The need to occupy ones *lote* leads to other mobility patterns including 'split families' where one parent/partner leaves the household for work, to make a living, or children leave, often moving abroad. Celia (E36, 40 years old) has three young children, she details how her partner [*conviviente*] and her are contemplating him to move to work near the border with Brazil, they had heard about work opportunities there through his siblings. Although Celia said they were uncertain, she emphasises the need for him to leave to make a living [*'salir a buscar el pan'*], for her family 'to have something' [*tener algo*] and to excel/succeed [*sobresalir*].

6.2.3 Personal networks

Help [*ayuda*] and support [*apoyo*] are viewed as necessary in order to get ahead. "One can't get ahead without support" (A23, Fransico, 29 years). The routineness of mobility has been enabled and established through the development of extensive networks. A pre-existing link or connection to the 'destination' community is necessary. Older residents of rural and peri-urban areas reflected that they had stayed in the community precisely because they had lacked such connections.

"I didn't know anybody, to be able to go to live in another place, I didn't know anybody" (A18, Adela, 72 years old).

"Before I didn't have much communication with other people, like to ask about other places. I almost never met people that went to other places...It never came to my mind to leave Alegria because I didn't know anybody, I didn't know where to go in the city" (A15, Mauro, 59 years old).

Some still lack the connections needed to make the move:

"if you don't have relatives outside the community you can't go, what are you going to do even though you want to go?" (L15, Margarita, 36 years old).

In almost all of the moves mentioned in the Esperanza mobility stories the person moving had a pre-existing link to the community which was often where the person stayed on arrival. This is consistent with the literature that social networks are a significant determinant of population mobility (Waddington and Sabates-

Wheeler, 2003: 14). The personalised nature of networks particularly struck me in the interviews. Very few interviewees identified the connection to the destination of movement or for finding work, as being an unknown contractor or broker, they were predominantly personal relations and mostly extended family networks. Analysis of the type of relationship of the connection to the ‘destination’ community for all moves mentioned in the Esperanza narratives revealed that the majority of links were kin relations (66%), most commonly an extended relative (aunt/uncle, in-laws, cousin, grandparent, niece/nephew – 37%) or a close relative (parent, child, siblings, spouse – 29%) (see Table 6.4 below).

Table 6.4: Type of relationship of the connection to the destination community for all moves cited in the Esperanza mobility stories.

Type of relationship	Male	Female	Total	%
Extended relative (<i>tia/tio</i> , in-laws, grandparent, niece/nephew, cousin)	16	34	50	37
Close relative (sibling, parent, child, spouse)	13	26	39	29
Other non-kin (<i>señor/a</i> , friend, <i>madrina/padrino</i> , teacher)	3	22	25	19
Not specified	12	8	20	15
Total	44	90	134	100

The figures reveal a strongly gendered pattern. Females cite more frequently going to live with an aunt/uncle [*tia/tio*] or to other non-kin (often *paisanos* – originating from the same community), which is directly related to the gendered nature of domestic service. When Sofia (E17, 25 years old) was 15 years old her aunt returned for a visit to her village in the *selva* of Ayacucho and asked Sofia to go to Lima. Sofia decided to go to finish her secondary school, working in her aunt’s house during the day in exchange for food and a bed, and studying in night school. The routineness of mobility for girls and young women is directly linked to the embeddedness or institutionalisation of domestic service in Peruvian society. In the Andes, using children as domestic labour, often unpaid, by fictive kin or by more distant relatives such as aunts and uncles has been a common, deeply rooted and historical practice (Ennew, 1986; Anderson *et al*, 2006; Deere, 1990; Leinaweaver, 2008a; see Gill, 1994 for similar practices in Bolivia). Children go to ‘help’ in other peoples’ homes or in the family business and in

exchange receive shelter, food, and sometimes schooling (Anderson *et al* 2006; Anderson, 2007b; Blondet, 1990; Gill, 1994). Leinaweaver (2008a) has termed the practices of parents sending their children to live in other homes as ‘child circulation’ and identifies the practice as being heavily skewed towards girls, families look for girls to help cook, wash, iron and care for children. In addition to going to live with an aunt/uncle, a further pattern found in the interviews was of primary school teachers in villages taking pupils to ‘help’ in their homes outside of the community, to look after a baby, or to help in the school vacations. Other ‘recruiters’ were ‘*señoras*’ [‘I went with a lady’] often of a higher socio-economic standing who were generally known by their parents⁸⁰. This also illustrates the class-based nature of domestic work (Sweetman, 2011). This gendered pattern of mobility and networks however suggests that females are more vulnerable to potential danger. Chapter eight will explore further the nature of these networks of aunts, teachers and ‘*señoras*’.

These links or networks have enabled mobility to become routine, through stimulating, maintaining and sustaining movement (Sorensen and Stepputat, 2003), in much the same way as put forward by the ‘cumulative causation thesis’ (Massey *et al*, 1998). This refers to how, in rural areas in particular, each person who moves away raises the prevalence of mobility in the community generating more connections which induce more people to move (Massey *et al*, 1998; Massey and Aysa, 2005). Through the development of extensive networks linking villages, towns and cities, movement becomes self-perpetuating. This self-perpetuating dynamic is portrayed by Edwin (E63, 30 years old). He moved to Callao, Lima from Cuzco as a child, to help his aunt and uncle and to study, they later all moved to Esperanza:

“we were living in a rented room in Callao... My uncle’s sister had got a *lote* in Esperanza and was living here so she told my aunt and uncle that there were *lotes* here and this encouraged them ... We all came together – my *tios*, their son and I”.

⁸⁰ I was surprised how little mention there was in the interviews of links based on *compadrazgo* relations given the emphasis in the literature on these relations. Few mentioned a *madrina* or *padrino* as being the link to the destination of movement. This may have been because the Godparent was also a relative and the interviewee identified the relation firstly as based on kin, e.g. an aunt who was also a *madrina*.

Initially they were all living in the same room in Esperanza. After several years his mother and siblings also came to Esperanza, and his other uncles and aunts and cousins, he explains “I’ve hardly got any family now in my village”. As already stated, Sofia (E17) moved to Lima to live with her aunt, she is now the link for her sister to come:

“Now I’ve got my little house, now I’ll try to bring my sister here, for her to study, little by little like this we bring our siblings, little by little”

Rosa’s (E9, 50 years old) brother was the link for her to move to Lima from Cerro de Pasco when she was 12 years old

“I came with my brother... My brother worked in a supermarket... so I came with him, ... and I looked after my brother, no? ... I looked after him, cooked for him, ironed, washed his clothes, as if I was his mum... My mum sent me to look after my brothers, later on another of my [other] siblings came as well with us”.

The owners of the supermarket where Rosa’s brother worked moved to the United States and asked her brother to go with them, which he did. He then became the link for some of their siblings to go and more recently for two of Rosa’s children to join them. This reveals the linkage of networks for international migration with those developed and utilised for movements within the country. This compares with Takenaka and Pren’s (2010: 32) observation that internal population movements can provide new opportunities that can lead to international migration as a ‘step’ migration process:

“networks developed in the process of internal migration as well as exposure to urban lifestyles and information acquired in the city enabled them to seek better fortunes abroad” (citing Paerregaard, 1997; Julca, 2001).

The centrality of largely extended family networks in enabling and sustaining mobility supports Leinaweaver’s argument that mobility is

“partly an effort to build the layers of kinship and connectedness necessary to endure the challenges and tensions of growing up poor and indigenous in Peru” (2008a: 11).

In this section I have located the routineness of mobility for searching material improvements to wellbeing (in terms of for work, income, housing,

accessing education and basic services) in the socio-cultural idiom of *salir adelante*. In particular mobility is routinised in the young age group (24 years and under) which is not only about gaining an education, a central element of getting ahead, but also about starting the process of ‘making one’s own life’ through obtaining one’s own home. I then argued that the routineness of mobility has been enabled through social networks and emphasised these as being personalised networks. The remainder of the chapter turns to explore further the imagery of getting ahead.

6.3 *Salir adelante* as resilience

On reflecting on mobility narratives and the notion of ‘getting ahead’, in addition to being aspirational, aspiring to improve wellbeing, I was struck by the sense of resilience that it portrays. Leinaweaver (2008b: 72) explains that getting ahead is most literally translated as ‘to overcome’. Yamamoto *et al* (2008: 100) also identify *salir adelante* with a sense of being able to overcome difficulties and problems. It was this meaning of the phrase that struck me as important, a drive to move forward and overcome one’s difficulties and constraints. This meaning of *salir adelante* shares similar connotations to the notion of ‘resilience’ which refers to “an individual’s capacity to recover from, adapt, and remain strong in the face of adversity” (Boyden and Mann, 2005: 6). At the core of the meaning of *salir adelante* is a need for strength and a continual fight or struggle [*luchar*] to get ahead: needing to exert much effort [*esforzarse*], a constant search for opportunities to get ahead, ‘to fight/struggle for life’ [*luchar por la vida*] and to keep going [*sacar adelante*]. This sense of fight, struggle, and overcoming, needs to be understood against a backdrop of continuing poverty [*falta de economia*], deeply rooted socio-economic inequality especially between the coast and highlands, and “deeply entrenched and divisive racism and classism that shape relations in Peru” (Leinaweaver, 2008a: 108). Takenaka and Pren (2010: 45) argue that the idea of ‘leaving to get ahead’ is embraced more often by the poor than by the rich. *Salir adelante* represents a personal fight or struggle to keep going in the context of harsh and precarious socio-economic conditions. It reflects an ongoing search for work, income and a home/land, and also for accessing basic services and infrastructure. The continual fight and struggle to get

ahead is reflected in the ongoing and multiple moves that people engage in (as mentioned above), seeking out gradual improvements in life conditions, incremental improvements to wellbeing in the context of poverty.

In a paper about resilience, Camfield and McGregor (2005: 189) argue that people should be viewed as “constrained but active agents” constructing wellbeing for themselves and their communities. Agency refers to “the ability of persons to act on behalf of goals that matter to them” (Devine *et al* 2008: 109-110, citing Sen, 2002). Camfield and McGregor assert that agency is partly determined by an individual’s own “perceptions of the extent to which they can exercise agency” (2005: 199). It is my impression that *salir adelante* seems to relate directly to this perception of capacity for agency, the extent to which people feel they can make changes to improve their situation, to improve their wellbeing. To illustrate this point it is helpful to explore the contrasting perspective of *conformismo*. The meaning of this term conveyed in the interviews appears to reflect more than conformism or a conformist attitude. *Conformismo* reflects a lower degree of perceived capacity for agency, a reluctant acceptance of or resignation to the conditions they live in and implies an attitude of not seeking or taking up available opportunities. In contrast to the future orientation embodied in the notion of getting ahead, *conformismo* reflects a lack of a future vision to improve one’s situation, a lack of ambition, expectations or aspirations for the future. It is presented as a short-term perspective focused on living ‘day to day’. The related term ‘*quedados*’ which is derived from the verb *quedar* – to stay or remain, similarly refers to people who do not take up available opportunities. It also denotes a physical location - staying in the community and not leaving. Of course, *conformismo* may reflect an awareness of the lack of networks needed to move, the skills to seek employment and the resources to leave. However, it does seem that *conformismo* is associated with a limited perception of the capacity for agency, a limited ‘sense of the possible’, limited aspirations (Rao and Walton, 2004), a ‘poverty of agency’ (Gough *et al*, 2007). Edison (D11, 41 years old) juxtaposes these conflicting mentalities.

“when I was in the army [in La Merced for military service, two years] I changed my way of thinking, different to that of my parents whose mentality was conformist [*conformistas*]. Socialising with people from different places and visiting other places made me change my mentality, it

helped me to want to improve myself [*superarme*] and to have more things that just to stay without doing anything and live in a conformist way”.

Those wanting to get ahead express frustration with the existence of *conformismo* in the village/community which is considered an obstacle or barrier to making progress. This perspective was particularly present in young and middle-aged male narratives. Moises (D1, 42 years old) complained about “the *conformismo* of the people” in Descanso who are “contented [*tranquilos*] with just sowing and waiting for the harvest, they don’t look for work. The community doesn’t have a vision for business, nor the municipality”. The opposition between getting ahead/progress and *conformismo* is played out at community level as ‘making progress’ conflicts with local conceptions of solidarity and community. The tension between getting ahead and *conformismo* embodies the conflict between national discourses of modernisation and progress and local moral discourses of solidarity (Van Vleet, 2008). These opposing life views or mentalities lead to conflict and frustration in community relations and stimulate movement away from the community. This is also further evidence of the routinisation of mobility in the search to get ahead. Hugo (A8, 44 years old) left his village in the *selva* to live in Alegria because it was “difficult to *salir adelante*”, there was envy among the villagers because he and his wife were improving: “people talk a lot [gossip], when you’re successful [*sobresales*], people talk a lot”. Others found there to be “too much *conformismo*” in Alegria. Jorge (A22, 28 years old) links his desire to leave to get ahead with community pressure against progress: “in Alegria people are envious when you work, people gossip”. Fransico (A23, 29 years old) similarly complains about ‘the talk of the people’ [*la habladuria de la gente*]: “our neighbours are always talking badly, when you try to do something like working to sow some more fields, they are already saying bad things”. Van Vleet finds in the Bolivian context that envy in the village emerges when reciprocal relations are disrupted due to people gaining access to “commodities and relationships outside the realm of the rural subsistence economy” (2008: 29). In Peru, Tamagno (2002) similarly argues

“if a family makes progress but develops individualistic forms of behaviour instead of the behaviour associated with solidarity, then ‘envy’ and ‘jealousy’, expressed through gossip, rumour or witchcraft, will occur immediately. According to my observations, this is basically due to the

fact that many inhabitants of the settlement originate in rural communities in which social relations are governed by *el uyay*, *el ainy* and *la minka* (various forms of reciprocal solidarity relations)” (p.114).

Gossip and envy are believed to bring harm to the physical wellbeing of the person being gossiped about or envied, through witchcraft. For example, Benita (E40, 35 years old) blamed her mother’s illness and subsequent death on witchcraft caused by envy because her parents owned animals and a home in the village, this was also stated as the reason why her father now lives with her in Esperanza and does not return to the community.

As Tamagno’s quote above suggests *conformismo* is not an attitude isolated to rural and peri-urban areas, urban residents also complained about *conformismo* in the community creating a desire to move to another urban settlement to “*buscar la superación*”. A resident of Progreso expresses her frustration that members of the community were living day-to-day, without a future orientation:

“there’s no interest to improve or to do something for the neighbourhood... They ‘live to live’, they forget everything, it’s sufficient that they get food for the day, the rest doesn’t matter to them” (P8, female, 40 years old).

For some, getting ahead means a continual search for opportunities to improve wellbeing, a sense of an ongoing and unfinished journey. When the dream which Samuel conveyed in the quote at the beginning of the chapter becomes ‘a lost dream’, when the path to get ahead, to social mobility, is blocked, then for some the search to get ahead extends abroad. Very few of those interviewed in Esperanza managed to achieve to become professionals, they struggled to finish secondary school and lacked the money and time to continue their studies, often starting families at a young age. The majority of those interviewed found work in the informal sector that was insecure, low-paid, and temporary. Several Esperanza residents commented how the search to get ahead was now extending to leaving the country, “to search another life over there”. Nicolas (E29, 38 years old), one of the few interviewees who used the term *migrar* [to migrate], reveals how the search to get ahead is ongoing and extends to leaving the country:

“People from the provinces, ...they have, you could say, paradise, no? ... but what happens? ... they want to come [here], ... sometimes human beings want more, they want to succeed [*sobresalir*], because of this they migrate to the capital, no? so that they can, no? ...from the capital the migrant wants to *sobresalir* more, they want to leave to other countries, they want more, no? that is, there’s no *conformismo*, no?”.

A mother in Esperanza (E84, 35 years old) hopes for her children (ages 15 and 13) to go abroad in the future and to join them later on because she explains “there’s no life here, no work, nothing”. Another Esperanza resident comments that he wants to leave the country because there are no work opportunities or opportunities to develop oneself. This confirms Takenaka and Pren’s (2010: 29) argument that the underlying meaning of *salir adelante* is now “leaving the country to move ahead in life”. It certainly appears that for many Esperanza residents the imagery of getting ahead is now focused on searching an improved level of wellbeing in another country. Oscar’s (E15, 58 years old) son has left the country to work in Argentina:

“my son has gone to search a future, you know that in our country the unemployment, its difficult, because of this he went to search where they earn a little bit more... there’s no work here”.

Oscar also identifies a pattern of mothers leaving the community to work in Argentina where they are more likely to find relatively well-paid jobs than men:

“ there are jobs in houses, and they pay more , they pay 800 soles a month⁸¹, and so, women go, they say to their husbands, you know, I’m going to go over there because I’ll earn well there, good money, ... I’ll send to you. So, she works whilst her husband stays here, ... when you want to make progress [*progresar*] you have to do all that is possible”.

Wright (2012) also reveals how the search to get ahead has extended abroad. In her study of Peruvian migrants living in Madrid and London, migrants emphasised the need to adopt a “progressive mindset” or “progressive mentality” in order to get ahead in London (p.67), ‘having a mentality of getting ahead’ (p.94), ‘to aspire for more’ (p.95). A conformist attitude amongst Peruvians was considered as a

⁸¹ Around £133 in 2007

barrier for living well (p.95) and migrants felt that people in Peru needed to ‘try harder to overcome their difficulties to get ahead’ (Wright, 2012: 94).

6.4 *Salir adelante* as a morality of care

Referring back to Camfield and McGregor’s (2005) paper on resilience in which they view people as “constrained but active agents” constructing wellbeing for themselves and their communities, they assert that agency is also determined by the extent to which an individual is supported by relationships with others (p.199). This reflects a further key meaning of getting ahead. Relations of support and care among family are central to being able to get ahead. Family relations give meaning to the search to *salir adelante*, as Miguel comments (E18, 25 years old) “everything for the family, [there’s] someone to fight for, to work for, to get ahead for, no?”. Guillen-Royo (2007: 159) points to how family relations enhance people’s “strength to go ahead with one’s life in a harsh environment”, and family gives the strength to *sobresalir* [stand up]. Although I have shown mobility to get ahead is linked with gaining independence, autonomy, getting established and ‘making one’s own life’, I have also started to indicate a strong relational basis to this cultural idiom. I have shown how parents invest their efforts to get ahead towards their children, being focused on seeking a better life for one’s children, for children to improve and be better off than themselves. Building on the work of Leinaweaver (2008a, 2008b), I argue that the notion of getting ahead embodies a strong commitment of care and responsibility to family – a morality of care, it is related to the welfare and care of others⁸². Making one’s own life sits alongside a continuing commitment to family. In family relationships autonomy can coexist with relations of dependency and interdependency (Devine *et al*, 2008: 105; Whitehead *et al*, 2007). Leinaweaver (2008a, 2008b) places emphasis on *superarse* as ‘a relational ideology’, one which is “thoroughly enmeshed with relatedness” (2008a: 129). *Superación* “is not a wholly self-centred act, but one which draws on and reinforces generational relationships within social context” (2008a: 129). Leinaweaver (2008b: 60) asserts that individual effort to improve oneself [*superarse*] occurs within “a

⁸² As Escriva (1997, 2000) finds Peruvian women’s migration to Spain is linked to family strategies to survive or improve their social position and living conditions. It is related to the welfare of others including children, parents, brothers and sisters, and husbands and less about expectations of themselves climbing a career ladder (Escriva 2000: 215).

relational web of persons who should also benefit”, it is a moral act. Similarly, Crivello (2009: 21) finds that “young people’s aspirations reflect interdependent family relationships and a ‘collective’ view of their future”. Central to getting ahead is a morality of care, support and commitment to others, both inter-generationally (between parents and children) and intra-generationally (between siblings).

Children moving to get ahead rely on *ayuda* [help] from their parents.

Sofia (E17, 25 years old) highlights the support she has received from her parents

“they supported me to come here, because there’s some parents who say ‘no, where’s my daughter going to go, no, I don’t want [her to go]’ ... for this I give thanks to them [her parents], at least they [said] ‘yes, daughter, go, because we want you to be better, we are going to do all we can to help you, for you to keep on studying’, they’ve never refused me this, no?, they’ve always helped me in this way, with what they have”.

Parents (mothers and fathers) emphasise needing to be behind their children in order for them to become professionals. Irene (E21, 65 years old) explains that parents need to “do everything possible for them [their children] to have something to give them something better”. Narratives of fathers in particular emphasise searching progress for their families through working and educating their children until they ‘become professionals’ or ‘have their professions’.

Hugo’s (A8, 44 years old) children are 11 and 15 years old, he plans “to keep working in order to make my children professionals, with that I would be fulfilling one of my goals”. In Esperanza, Maximo (E32, 31 years old) emphasises that “a father brings his children into the world in order to take them forward [*sacarles adelante*] with some profession”. This reflects the culture of *machismo* in which fathers provide for their families (Fuller, 2000; Wright, 2012). Fuller (2000: 97) argues

“from the domestic point of view, the man defines himself as the provider and the person who is responsible for the family. His principle goal is the progress of the family”.

Bastia and Busse (2011: 24) also argue that for urban Peruvian men especially those working in the informal economy, “being an economic provider and being responsible for others are crucial characteristics of masculinity”.

Crivello (2009) uses the term ‘moral interdependence’ to refer to how attendance and performance in school is the way young people repay their parents for supporting their education. Similarly, residents in Esperanza explain that children rewarded their parent’s efforts by studying and “becoming something”; their “gift to their parents” is becoming a professional with a secure job and salary. This implies having the resources to reciprocate the help given by parents. As Oscar (E15) explains, when children have managed to achieve progress, to triumph [*llega a triunfar*] they should return the help [*ayuda*] and “never forget your family”. Lurdes (E50) comments

“when you study you can have a better job, you improve yourself [*superarte*], have a better family, everything depends on education,... so don’t forget the family who helped you. You’re always going to support them with something, to support with what you are able to – a little money or buying something”.

Alberto (E28, 72 years old) emphasises that fathers must fight until their child has their profession and that once they have their profession, “they will send to their father” (send remittances). However, it is important to note, as stated above, many Esperanza residents had not become professionals themselves, revealing the ‘school myth’ (Ames and Rojas, 2009), representing a disjuncture between aspirations or the ideology of getting ahead and the reality. Older parents express that by fulfilling their duties to support their children they could also expect to receive support from their children in their old age – looking towards their children to secure their wellbeing in old age. Waldo (L11, 66 years old) has three children living in Lejano, one in Huancayo and four are living in Lima. He continues to support his children with their studies, he explains

“I only expect myself to do that, to educate them for them to have their professions, so that later they can also help me with something”

Humberto (L1, 67 years old) and Viviana’s (L2, 51 years old) nine children (between the ages of nine and 30 years old) all live away from the village, seven in Lima and two are in the *selva*. Viviana explains that her son went to Lima “to improve himself [*superarse*] and to study so that he can help me when I’m older”. Viviana continues to support her children, travelling back and forth to Lima to help them and to look after her grandchildren. Humberto suffers from ill health and relies on support from his children:

“I have very little, and with the help from my children who are in Lima I’m moving forward [*saliendo adelante*]”

Further evidence of this morality of care is shown by moves in the older age category. The reasons cited for moves in this age group are particularly related to family considerations: to join children or siblings, and to look after grandchildren. These moves are often triggered by the death of a spouse or separation. Juana (E14) is 70 years old, she moved to Esperanza from Iquitos (*selva*) following the death of her husband. She went to live with her single and youngest daughter and has lived in Esperanza for nine years, her daughter is ‘mother and father’ to her, supporting her financially. Juana looks after one of her grandsons (another daughter’s child) who also lives with them. Juana wants her other grandchildren to join them in Esperanza so that they can further their education. Moves to join adult children are often couched in terms of helping to look after grandchildren but are also about their own anticipated need for care in later life. Eduardo (E27, 81 years old) moved to Esperanza from the *selva* at 74 years old to be near his children, his children live in the nearby district of Vitarte. He travels to his children’s homes daily for his food and they pay for his bus fare.

A commitment of care is also strong intra-generationally between siblings. As was shown above, sibling relations are important connections, drawing other siblings to the city, helping siblings to move. Felix (E1, 40 years old) is the second oldest sibling in his family, he grew up in Cañete (coast, south of Lima) and worked from a young age to support his siblings, including working in a fruit market in Lima. Felix did not finish primary school; he earned money so that his siblings could go to school, to ‘*sacarles adelante*’ [to take them forward]. He emphasises the sacrifice he made to help them, sacrificing his own education. This portrays Wright’s (2012: 122-123) argument that

“In the case of Peru, migration also fits with powerful prevailing social narratives of personal sacrifice for the greater good which perpetuate the moral and societal imperative that migrants should accept the suffering implied in order to further the interests of their relatives”.

Siblings also support each other by looking after nieces and nephews whilst their sibling works away or establishes themselves, helping each other to get ahead. However, this morality of care is not set in stone, as Demetrio’s case portrays. Demetrio (A17, 53 years old) is the oldest child and has remained in Alegria to

care for his elderly mother (85 years old). All of his six siblings have left the community and are living in Huancayo and Lima. He wanted his siblings to *salir adelante*, his brother to study and become a professional, for his sisters to ‘make their lives’, to triumph, to have their families, working, to succeed/excel [*sobresalir*], and have their own homes. He is now losing his sight and thinking about who will look after him:

“I wonder if there’s a possibility for me to go to my sister in Huancayo and move forward and fight for life. I know that my sister could have me at her side but on the other hand I say that ‘is she going to put up with me?’, and if she throws me out, I would be alone”.

Demetrio’s uncertainty about whether the sacrifice he has made in looking after his mother whilst his other siblings have ‘made their lives’, have been getting ahead, will be compensated by them supporting him when he needs care shows how the morality of care has to be worked out. The next chapter turns to consider the unfolding of relationships; how relationships are reworked as families become spatially separated and dispersed through movement.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that although people inevitably point to the ‘material’ benefits to be gained from moving, improving material wellbeing, these cannot be separated from the socio-cultural idiom of *salir adelante* [to get ahead]. The chapter has explored the ‘imagery’ of getting ahead. I have argued that mobility has become necessary and routine in the search to get ahead, in particular to access education, an independent home and work. I have identified ‘making one’s life’ [*hacer su vida*] and getting established as a key component of getting ahead. Mobility is enabled and routinised through predominantly personalised networks linking villages, towns and cities. I then placed emphasis on *salir adelante* as reflecting a sense of resilience to keep going and to overcome difficulties and as a mindset or perception of the capacity to change one’s situation, to improve wellbeing. ‘Getting ahead’ also conveys a sense of an unfinished journey, entailing a continual search to improve living conditions for oneself and one’s family in the context of precarious living conditions, a search which is now extending abroad. I then identified getting ahead as having an

inherently relational nature. A commitment of support and care, a morality of care, underlies getting ahead both inter-generationally and intra-generationally. The next chapter turns to consider how family relations unfold and are reworked as parents, children, and siblings are separated through movement.

Chapter 7 Relational anchoring: the reworking of relationships through anchoring routines

7.1 Introduction

“There’s nobody like family, family protects you, takes care of you, worries about you, at least you have someone, no? someone you can trust ... if there’s a family behind you, you have someone to share with, someone to be happy [*alegrar*] with and you don’t feel alone, no?... family is fundamental, it is where one can fulfil oneself [*realizarse*]” [Samuel, E4, 47 years old]

This chapter is concerned with exploring how people re-work their relationships with family when they become separated through mobility. It considers how the morality of care identified in the previous chapter is worked out and negotiated when people live apart. However, the reworking of relationships is not only based on a sense of responsibility and commitment of care in these relationships, but has a strong intrinsic dimension which I explore through the notion of anchoring. Emigio (E7, 48 years old) conveys this sense of anchoring: “family is at the core, at the centre of a person”. Samuel’s quote above identifies the trust and security embodied in family relations and identifies these relations as an important source of wellbeing, through family relations one can feel fulfilled. Guillen-Royo’s (2007: 158) research in Esperanza points to this intrinsic dimension of relationships arguing that “stable close family relations are the pillars of their [residents’] wellbeing”. In their research in an Argentinean shantytown, Auyero and Swistun (2008) introduce the term “relational anchoring” to explain how residents have become attached to and taken roots in the neighbourhood through work, family, and friendship networks. Routines of building families, enjoying friends and working are identified as ‘anchoring routines’ and these have rooted residents in the community. As detailed in the previous chapter, Esperanza residents emphasise the importance of owning a home, a stable base, from which to build a family, putting down roots in the community. Owning a home and starting a family is a key anchoring routine. However, I argue that a sense of relational anchoring also comes from the way in which relations with close family living outside of the community are re-worked.

As Pohjola (1991) has argued, in situations of change, relationships provide a central anchor in the reorganising of lives after the move.

The chapter begins by showing how anchoring reflects a sense of attachment to place and to people (in relationships). The dynamics of anchoring change over time (through the life course and intergenerationally) and across space (with mobility) (Conway, 2005; Ryan, 2004). I show a diminishing attachment to place, as relationships with significant others become spatially dispersed with the routineness of mobility. I present the idea of place as becoming ‘personified’, as being about where key significant others are present. The next section explores the notion of relational anchoring. Relational anchoring is shown to be based on a sense of togetherness [*estar juntos*] and closeness [*estar unidos*] and relations of affection, love, and warmth [*cariño*]. I argue that family relations are significant sources of wellbeing in the context of insecure community relations which are characterised by widespread lack of trust.

The remainder of the chapter focuses on how a sense of anchoring relationally is reworked with mobility. It focuses on relationships between parents, children and siblings who have been spatially separated through mobility. In their work on transnational families Bryceson and Vuorela (2002: 14) introduce the notion of ‘relativising’ which refers to “the variety of ways individuals establish, maintain or curtail relational ties with specific family members”. The chapter views kinship as “a living ‘institution’, being worked out in everyday life and decisions” (McHugh, 2000:77, citing Stack). As Van Vleet (2008: 22) argues “husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, parents and children ... are not simply categories but rather actors in dynamic relationships negotiated on a daily basis”. I draw on Auyero and Swistun’s (2008) idea of ‘anchoring routines’ to explore how people try to keep a sense of anchoring in family relations going. The practices through which people continue and rework a sense of relational anchoring are identified as anchoring routines and include phone calls, visits, ‘sending’ and provision of support and care. However, in contrast to the relative ease and smoothness of connection reflected in much of the literature cited in chapter three, the image presented in the narratives is one of struggle and fragility, and a sense that people could not accomplish what they desired in terms of establishing regularity in anchoring routines. It shows this through considering the material and practical constraints that shape what is possible and the morality

of care that guides what people do. These lead to tension and uncertainty as anchoring based on kin relations competes with the demands of anchoring to one's immediate family. The way this is worked out is highly gendered.

7.2 Anchoring as attachment to place and people

The literature reviewed in chapter three showed a strong identification with and a sense of belonging to place of origin among 'migrants' in the form of regional identities and the emergence of regional associations. This relates to the notion of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983), how imagined communities become linked to imagined places as migrants "cluster around remembered or imagined home-lands, places or communities" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 10-11). These remembered places serve as "symbolic anchors of community" for migrants, they "use memory of place to construct imaginatively their new lived world" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 11). The idea of remembered places, villages of origin, being 'symbolic anchors' has been supported in the Peru literature. Skar (1994) employs the notion of 'village as anchor' to convey how 'absent ones' from the village of Matapuquio presented a perception of the self as anchored in the village (p.230), a social and cultural rootedness, the village and life there as being at the centre of the person (p.251). Paerregaard (1997, 1998) also emphasises the village as a central point of reference for migrants from Tapay, 'Tapeños'. The principle means by which *Tapeños* identify themselves are by place of origin, a sense of belonging and memories of life in their village of origin (Paerregaard, 1997: 11)⁸³. Conway (2005) introduces the notion of 'home as anchor' to convey how home-places provide the anchors for migrants' experiences in both national and international movements.

"as life takes its twists and turns, and migrants move to and fro, it can still be claimed that a 'home' is an enduring territorial fixture; one that provides mobile people with a sense of place, a sense of belonging somewhere – a rootedness (Tuan 1980)" (Conway 2005: 274).

Conway emphasises how 'home-anchoring' changes with transitions through the life course and inter-generationally. Examples of shifting attachments over time

⁸³ Although it is important to note that Paerregaard (1997) distinguishes varying degrees of attachment to the native village using the following groupings: 'drop-out migrants', 'visiting migrants', 'return migrant' and 'non-migrants' (see pp.21-22).

include how “as time passes, parents die and other relatives move away from home or join the migrant through familial migratory networks” (Ryan, 2004: 364). Attachment to place changes with the routineness of mobility, as relationships with significant others become spatially dispersed. Families become multi-locational with some close family remaining in the village, others living elsewhere in Lima or in other locations within the country and abroad. People have “attachments and connections in multiple places” (McHugh, 2000: 83). The table below shows the geographical spatial spread of families. Almost all interviewees in Esperanza were members of spatially dispersed families (88.5%).

Table 7.1: Spatial dispersion of families

Location of family	Number	%
Lima and origin (parents, children, siblings, grandparents)	12	23.1%
Lima (close family) and origin (tios, cousins)	4	7.7%
Dispersed within country – multi-locations	17	32.7%
Dispersed within country and parents/siblings/children/spouse abroad	9	17.3%
Dispersed within country and niece/nephew/tios/cousins abroad	4	7.7%
Lima-based- other district/neighbourhood in Lima	5	9.6%
No relatives	1	1.9%

Source: Esperanza mobility stories

Some Esperanza interviewees portray a Lima-based sense of anchoring. In some cases this is linked with the circumstances of mobility, where movement has entailed rupture with origin. This is particularly the case when mobility was an escape from domestic violence or intra-family violence/abuse, or entailed breaking away from problematic family relations, and a need to re-build their lives more firmly in Lima. The next chapter will explore further the role of the context of movement in shaping mobility experiences. Those residents who moved to Lima as children or who were born in Lima tend to show little or no sense of attachment or connection to their parents’ places of origin (mostly in the *sierra*). The *sierra* is presented as an undesirable place. Justina (E6) expresses with pride that she is from Lima and not from the *sierra*, her father is from Huancavelica but she explains “I don’t actually know where it is”, neither has she been to Ayacucho where her mother is from. Her mother is the only child and has no family living in Ayacucho. Justina says she thinks her paternal grandmother lives in Huancayo

but is not sure as she does not know the *sierra*. Most of her father's siblings have moved to Lima, one of his sisters is in Argentina with her family; some of her mother's extended relatives live abroad but she is not close with them. Justina's sense of anchoring is predominantly Lima based, all her close family live nearby- her husband, children, parents and siblings all live in the community. Oscar (E15, 58 years old) left his village in Junin (*sierra*) with his parents at the age of five to Lima and has subsequently made various moves within the department of Lima, he has lived in Esperanza for seven years. When he was 15 years old his father took him back to their village to meet his aunts and uncles, his father still had land there which he inherited following his father's death:

“I didn't feel comfortable there and so what did I do with the land? I gave it to my *tios*, ... there was no water ... I said what would I do here? Seeing as I grew up in Lima”.

The only family left in his village of origin are his *tios* and first cousins [*primos legítimos*] and he has remained in touch with them. The majority of his family - siblings, one son, and many nieces/nephews live in Lima. Another son has migrated to Argentina leaving his wife and child in Lima. He also has nieces/nephews in the *selva*, Puno (south *sierra*), and a nephew in Brazil. His family network is spatially dispersed.

Esperanza residents who left their place of origin as young adults having passed their childhood and adolescence there tended to retain a greater sense of anchoring and attachment to these places compared to those who left as children (with family or independently). Samuel (E4, 47 years old) is one of the interviewees who displayed the strongest sense of belonging to his region of origin. He grew up in Cerro de Pasco (*sierra*), moved to Cajamarca for University (20 years old) and subsequently to Huanuco (*sierra*) at 25 years old where he stayed for seven years. He then moved with a friend to Lima and then on to Esperanza at 36 years old where he works as a teacher. Samuel expresses his attachment to his origin through his desire to die and be buried there. Although Samuel has spent less than half of his life so far in his place of origin, he is proud that he is '*Cerreño*' (from Cerro de Pasco). Samuel's identification with the geographic region of origin rather than naming his specific village is a pattern found across the interviews, identification in terms of region as Huancaíno/a (from Huancayo), Limeño/a (from Lima), or more broadly from the *sierra*, coast, *selva*

to even broader still as being Peruvian [*soy Peruano/a*]. Alvarez *et al* (2008: 39) note a similar pattern in the WeD-RANQ survey. Responses to a question that asked people to describe themselves revealed that most people simply stated where they came from in geographical terms rather than drawing on the categories of ethnic and social identity (e.g. *mestizo*, *cholo*, Indian/Andean) detailed in chapter three (see p.48 and p.56). This pattern has also been identified by Paerregaard (1997: 19) arguing that migrants strive for an “identity based on territorial loyalties, whether local or national, rather than on ethnic origin” and that this “reflects a wish to escape the Indian or *cholo* status thrust upon them by rural *mestizos* and urban *criollos* down the centuries”. He continues:

“Andean people migrating to Lima and other cities in Peru seek to differentiate themselves from other highland migrants by emphasizing their village roots and by underscoring their national identity as Peruvian citizens (Turino, 1991)” (ibid. p.19-20).

My research shows a continuation of this pattern but finds a more regional or geographically based identity than village focused one.

Interviewees convey the significance of the place of origin in relational terms as being where core family are present, especially mothers, rather than about broader village ties (Rohregger, 2006). Samuel’s mother and two siblings still live in the village, his father has died. Samuel’s mother comes across as central to his sense of anchoring and as a ‘lynch-pin’ (Williams, 2006 in Ryan *et al* 2008: 684) keeping his family connected and together. However, his mother is elderly (87 years old) and he is concerned how her death will impact on the relation among his siblings, indicating how attachments can change through the life course. When talking about his relationship with his siblings he explains

“look, what unites us the most, what unites us greatly is our mum, no? ... and when she dies, we’re going to disintegrate maybe, or we’re going to become distanced”.

Samuel emphasises the meaning of the family home where he grew up:

Samuel: What unites us [mother and siblings] also is the home we have.

Researcher: Where? In Cerro de Pasco?

Samuel: Yes, there... Because it seems to be our best, our best nest [*nido*], no? It’s the best nest that we have in the world, although dad is not there,

mum unites us, for sure we are going to save a lovely memory when she goes [when his mother dies]”.

It seems that when core family no longer live in places of origin the significance of place diminishes, as Juana (E14, 70 years old) expresses. Juana has joined her daughter in Esperanza and has no relatives in her village of origin, nor in Yurimaguas (both *selva*) where she moved from, she comments

“why would I return there... I don’t want to go back there, to what? I don’t have family there... I don’t even have a daughter there”.

The significance of place is portrayed as having a strong relational dimension, a sense of personified place. When close family no longer live in places of origin or have died, the meaning of place becomes related to past relations, as being where loved ones are buried; return visits bringing back memories of loved ones and the significance of the family home where they grew up. Rosa (E9) is from a village in Cerro de Pasco and moved to Lima when 12 years old. She is now 50 years old and she has spent the majority of her life in Lima. Rosa has some aunts and uncles who still live in Cerro de Pasco, however her yearly return visits to the village are for the ‘Day of the Dead’ to visit her father’s grave and she only stays for two days and returns to Lima. Lurdes (E50) is 63 years old and left her village in Ayacucho (*sierra*) when she was 18 years old to live in Lima. She has lived in Esperanza for 12 years. Lurdes speaks of her return visits in terms of returning to the family home and remembering her mother, she explains

“I arrive there and just cry, remembering where my mum used to sit in the house, what she used to cook, how we used to live there”.

Although Lurdes has distant relatives living in her village, she comments

“we don’t know each other, as it’s been a long time since we’ve returned to the house ... now we don’t know each other”.

This also suggests her return visits are irregular and infrequent. Samuel explains the one time in the year when all his family get together is for his mother’s birthday, which again conveys the significance of his mother to his sense of anchoring:

“Everyone must be there ... they have to take a cake or a present or just their presence to be there.... So we eat well [laughing], we dance ... on this day we talk to each other... we ask each other about everything, and well, we’re all there. Once a year, it’s obligatory to be there”.

Samuel's siblings are spatially dispersed, some still live in the village, one lives in an urban area of Cerro de Pasco, a sister in Huancayo and two sisters are also living in Esperanza. Samuel expresses that the location of the meeting for his mother's birthday is not important, the meeting is wherever his mother is, a further example of place being personified. In general it is family celebrations that draw people together rather than *fiestas* or festivals which further signifies that the meaning of the village is becoming diffused and village ties diminishing. In chapter two returning to the village for *fiestas* and festivals was shown as common and a key element of interconnections between rural and urban areas. These events are community-based and draw on a wider set of village ties. However, few Esperanza residents mentioned returning for these *fiestas* and only one mentioned celebrating the *fiesta* of her place of origin in Lima (Filomena, E44, 45 years old). The events celebrated include family birthdays, especially mother's and father's birthdays, Christmas and mother's day. Guillen-Royo's (2007) research in Esperanza finds a similar pattern of people being more family oriented celebrating birthdays, Christmas, and christenings rather than returning to the village for *fiestas* and festivals.

A further way the dynamics of anchoring change is the inter-generational ripple effect of children shifting their anchors away from the village/place of origin requiring parents to move to be near to children in later life for their own care needs, as detailed in the previous chapter. This also displays how place is personified. Alberto (E28, 72 years old) moved to Lima from Tarma (*sierra*) when he was 54 years old. This was not his first move, he made several moves around the *selva* for work in his 20s and 30s. He explains that he relocated to Lima because of his attachment to his grandchildren and children:

“I have my children at my side, ... I love them all, I love my grandchildren, it's because of them that I'm here, ... I came for my grandchildren”.

His seven children all live in Lima and two in Esperanza. Alberto lives with his son, daughter-in-law and grandson. He came initially to look after his son's *lote* in Esperanza, when his son had migrated to Argentina. He gives the impression that he has been putting things into place for his later life. Alberto has subsequently bought two plots of land for his children opposite his and is looking for another plot to buy for another son, drawing his family nearer to him. Older

residents in rural and peri-urban areas consistently responded, when asked about the intentions of their absent children to return to the community, “Return! To what?” “What are they going to return to?” They felt their children were firmly settled and established in the places they were living (with homes, work, and families) and did not express an expectation for them to return to live in the village in the future. Some residents in Esperanza express a desire for their parents to join them in Lima. Victor (E38, 42 years old) explains how he desires to bring his mother to Lima:

“We have tried several times with both siblings that are here, to bring my mother, she doesn’t want to come to Lima at all, she doesn’t want to. It’s because she’s accustomed over there [Cuzco] in the countryside ...

‘who’s going to look out for my animals, my little fields [*chacritas*]’”.

Perspectives from older parents living in rural and peri-urban areas reveal the tension caused by conflicting points of anchorage – an attachment and rootedness to the place where they have lived most or all of their life conflicting with the pull of attachment to adult children and grandchildren who live away. Older men and women express uncertainty and ambivalence about how and where they would spend their later life. They express concern about being a burden on their children and uncertainty whether children would have the resources to be able to support them. Delia (A16, 53 years old) has five children living in Lima and one in Satipo [*selva*]. She expresses her fear of being ‘closed in’ if she were to move to Lima:

“I don’t like Lima, I would be closed in [*encerrada*], I wouldn’t have anywhere to go for a walk, where would I go to? Here in Alegria we go out to the fields, we’re with the animals. [In Lima] there’s nowhere to go for a walk, there’s no green areas like here in Alegria... you can go for a walk and not stay all day stuck in the house”.

The expression of being ‘closed in’ reflects a concern about a potential loss of autonomy and freedom, and also relates to differences in life styles between the *sierra* countryside and the urban setting (Bourque and Warren, 1981). A father in Hermosa (H8, 57 years old) who has spent nearly half of his life living in other places including in the *selva*, in several urban areas of the *sierra* and in Lima, expresses he now feels established and anchored in his village of origin. His four daughters all live in Lima, he explains

“sometimes my daughters tell me to go to Lima but no, I wouldn’t adapt there [*no me acostumbraria alla*]. My wife has plans to leave [she says] ‘I’m going to go to Lima next year, he will stay alone, he doesn’t want to go’. My children want to take us, they say ‘what are you doing here suffering in the fields?’”.

This shows that the pull of attachments to children and grandchildren can lead to conflict and friction in conjugal relations when there is disagreement over whether or not to go and can entail living apart from spouse/partner, maintaining dual residences. Alberto’s (E28) reunion with his children and grandchildren in Esperanza mentioned above has entailed living apart from his wife who has remained in their village, although she ‘comes and goes’ every 15 days.

This section has shown how the notion of ‘village as anchor’ is becoming diffused through the routinisation of mobility and as families become spread across multiple locations. It has argued that a sense of anchoring and attachment changes over time, through the life course and intergenerationally. I have suggested that the significance of place is becoming personified, as being where significant others are present, or about bringing back memories of loved ones. I have pointed towards a sense of anchoring becoming more family based rather than village focused.

7.3 Relational anchoring

Ryan and Deci (cited in McGregor, 2007: 15) define relatedness as concerning feeling socially connected “typically one feels most related when one feels cared for and significant to others”. Relational anchoring conveys this sense of ‘feeling’ connected and cared for, and feeling ‘significant’. In the interviews a sense of anchoring in family relations is expressed through a sense of togetherness [*estar juntos*] and closeness [*estar unidos*], and is based on relations of *cariño* [affection, warmth and love]. This compares with Casas *et al*’s findings from using the Stinnett’s Family Strength Inventory for Latin American families (1984, cited in Ingoldsby, 2006: 286). ‘Love and affection’ and ‘family togetherness’ are two of six main factors identified for maintaining a happy family life⁸⁴. This sense of rootedness in family is directly linked to having lived together over a

⁸⁴ The other factors were ‘understanding and acceptance’, ‘mutual respect and appreciation’, ‘communication and relationship skills’ and ‘religion’.

period of time, being raised together, growing up together [*haberse criado juntos*]. Several studies have also identified how relations of *cariño* are a “direct result of past cohabitation” (Leinaweaver, 2008a: 135, in Peru; also Gay y Blasco, 2005, in Spain; Van Vleet, 2008, in Bolivia⁸⁵). Living together creates shared experiences, mutual knowledge and memories. Sharing the same blood, the same substance is central to the meaning of family, as Gay y Blasco (2005: 166) find “physical links, the awareness of shared origins, lie at the core of these emotions [*cariño*]; individuals share bodily substance with their relatives on the paternal and maternal sides, and this makes them love each other”. As Samuel expresses above, mothers are central to a sense of anchoring. The mother-child bond is portrayed as unique, significant and particularly affectionate. The Peru literature also identifies the emotional bonds between a mother and her children as particularly strong and close (Long, 1977; Anderson, 2007). Although some emphasised the significance of a father’s *cariño* and felt closer to their fathers, in general relations with fathers are viewed as more distant, ‘colder’ and authoritarian (cf. Anderson, 2007). Sibling relations were shown to be particularly emotionally close (cf. Lomnitz, 1977; Lobo, 1982). Bartolome explains the importance of his siblings: “we’re born from one single father, from one single mother ... we’ve lived together”. Relations among siblings are felt to be cooperative and unified. This builds on the argument of the previous chapter identifying a morality of care intra-generationally, among siblings, as being central to ‘getting ahead’. There is a hierarchy of responsibility of care flowing from the oldest sibling to younger siblings which is exemplified by an older child becoming ‘like a mother or father’ to their younger siblings (and this was frequently mentioned in the narratives), as shown in Felix’s (E1) case in the previous chapter (section 6.4). Mitchell (2006: 121) links this familial cohesion among siblings as a response to economic poverty and the need for pooled resources to increase the chances of success. Isabel (E39) explains that her older brother has always looked out for her and that since they were children “we won the affection that we have now”. She continues, “he was the father of the house, he supported the house financially”. This commitment of care continues through the life course as brothers and sisters later become like a mother or father to their

⁸⁵ Van Vleet’s (2008: 58, 64) research in the Bolivian Andes found that raising a child is viewed as key to establishing and maintaining the social, material, and affective bonds of relatedness.

nieces and nephews. Isabel is raising her two children alone, she explains that her brother still supports her:

“even now he supports me with my children as if they were his children.

He’s a father for my children, and they say to him ‘*papa*’”.

Relations between grandparents [*abuelos*] and grandchildren were similarly portrayed as affectionate and strong, especially when *abuelos* had cared for grandchildren during childhood.

A maternal connection in other relationships came across as significant in the interviews, especially in the absence of a mother. Closeness in these relations was also linked to having lived together for a period of time, or lived closeby to each other, and having shared experiences. Benita (E40, 35 years old) was born in Huancavelica, moved to Satipo (*selva*) at the age of 20 with her spouse for work, and then to Esperanza at the age of 28. Benita identifies her relation to her uncle, her mother’s brother, who still lives in Huancavelica, as particularly close.

“My *tio*, ... he’s like my dad. When I was in Huancavelica we used to live almost together all the family, we were neighbours, my cousins... When my mother was alive he used to visit us. My mum died young, [but] I have my *tio*. I love him like I do my father. I love my *tio* because I don’t have my mother. I’ve always loved him, my mother’s family, her blood ...

When we were together he used to say to me ‘come, let’s go to eat, he treated me with *cariño*, because of this I love him”.

Others showed how they tried to create a maternal connection in non-kin relationships, using the symbolism of family to draw people closer as well as being a sign of respect, for example, Rosa (E9) calls her godmother Hilda ‘mama Hilda’ to display her respect and affection. When Samuel first moved to Lima he details how he created a ‘symbolic family’, with his friend’s family who he was living with.

“When you don’t have a family, you form another one, even if it’s symbolic, because a person cannot live alone, always [you need to] have somebody, to be with someone”. ... “With them I felt closer, they weren’t my blood, they weren’t of the same surname, they weren’t of my custom either, however we’ve been able to understand each other, we’ve been able to share no? poverty, and that’s family”.

Relational anchoring conveys the intrinsic or intangible dimension to the relational – relationships as an important source of wellbeing in themselves, in giving a sense of anchoring in situations of change. However, the value of family as a key source of support, as a social resource or a key source of social capital cannot be underestimated. As argued in the previous chapter, support between parents and children and between siblings is key to being able to get ahead. Having a family-based network of support is vital to survival in the harsh, uncertain urban environment. A sense of togetherness among family is portrayed as being there for one another in times of need, helping and supporting each other, a feeling of being protected by family, a sense of security in family. As Victor (E38, 42 years old) comments

“Family is to have a secure place, where your family is there in the good and the bad times, supporting each other [*darles la mano*] in illness, in health, at times of need”.

My findings confirm those of the literature that kin relations are central in facilitating access to resources (Degregori *et al*, 1986). Family relations are central, and often the only, sources of support for residents of Esperanza. Table 7.2 below shows analysis of responses to the question “who do you turn to when you need help?”

Table 7.2: Sources of support

	Male	Female	Total
Family only			
Family only, close proximity Esperanza/Lima	2	4	6
Family only, dispersed including abroad	14	9	23
Family-based			
Family, neighbours / friends	1	4	5
Family, church, community kitchen [<i>comedor</i>]	0	3	3
Non-family based			
Only support from a neighbour/friend, church and/or <i>comedor</i>	1	5	6
None			
No-one to turn to for support	2	7	9
Total	20	32	52

Source: Esperanza mobility stories

Emigio (E7, 48 years old) emphasises the family as his only source of support:

“the family, whatever kind of help – for illness, to recommend work, advice ... always the family, never to neighbours, nor other people, only the family”.

I was surprised that community-based relations (neighbours, friends) were not more often cited as sources of support, given the emphasis of earlier studies on the recreation and continuation of relations of reciprocity, mutual aid and assistance in the urban setting. Although several other studies have noted that relations of mutual aid, whilst important on arrival, become less significant once residents are well established (e.g. a period of ten years or so) and the focus becomes more on the domestic unit or limited family network (Blondet, 1990; Harris, 1995). I was particularly struck by the lack of trust and suspicion that characterised community relations. Trust is a key dimension of social networks and a main component of social capital (McIlwaine, 2007). Rohregger (2006: 1153) argues that social capital (familial, communal or associational networks) especially in developing countries “is an increasingly scarce resource whose credentials of trust, solidarity and reciprocity are jeopardized by worsening social and economic conditions”. Ryan *et al* (2008: 680) also argue “socially disadvantaged groups may be divided, wary and distrustful as they compete for scarce resources”. Distrust of others is also understandable given the history of political conflict and violence that penetrated the community as detailed in chapter five. In circumstances where trust is low, as in mobile populations and also in Peruvian society more generally, family relationships feature particularly prominently in social networks (Crow, 2004). Distrust, suspicion and gossip permeate community relations in Esperanza and this seems to affect women in particular whose daily lives are more focused on the community. Many women appear confined or isolated to their homes, and present an image of a ‘shrinking social world’ (Lawson, 2000). Eva (E42, 37 years old) explains how she has no trust in people in the community or her neighbours “I don’t trust them, because if I talk about something to the neighbours it will bring problems, I’ll be gossiped about”. Benita (E40, 35 years old) feels isolated, she does not speak to her neighbours, she says “I don’t go out for anything, I’m just in my room, I don’t sit with my neighbour, I stay in my room with my children and father”. Both Eva and Benita have lived in Esperanza for seven years, they are not newcomers. To ‘sit with a neighbour’ signifies sitting and gossiping about people from the neighbourhood which is viewed negatively.

Neither Eva nor Benita wishes to become the source of gossip themselves. Wright (2012: 77) finds the existence of selfishness, envy and distrust amongst Peruvian migrants in London and Madrid. A major factor in undermining relational wellbeing is identified as this generalised lack of trust and mutual suspicion which permeates different kinds of social relationships (Wright, 2012: 82). A culture of suspicion and mistrust has also been found among the Bolivian migrant community in Spain (Escandell and Tapias 2010; Tapias and Escandell, 2011), and among Latin American migrant communities in London, UK (McIlwaine, 2007). McIlwaine links this lack of trust partly with “the pressures of life as a migrant in terms of competition for jobs, envy and fear about lack of documentation” (2007: 54). Widespread crime, gangs and delinquency in the community deepens the mistrust of others in the neighbourhood (cf. Molyneux, 2002). Several interviewees had direct personal experiences of being robbed in the street or having goods/money stolen from their homes. One of the interviewee’s homes was robbed during the fieldwork. I was surprised that the first person she suspected was not an outsider but her neighbour’s son, this illuminates the mistrust among neighbours. Rosa (E9, 50 years old) contrasts the relative safety in the early days of the community with the current situation:

“There was no theft ... it was peaceful, you could leave your food, your things at the door of your hut [*choza*] and nothing happened. Now, the opposite, you can’t even leave an old broom at your door”.

This insecurity and distrust in community relations reflects what Germaná (2005) calls the ‘culture of despair’ more broadly in Peruvian society, which is partly defined by the disintegration of social relations, the decline of community and collective organisation and the view that ‘nobody believes in anyone’. When community relationships are unreliable and lacking trust, people need to rely more strongly on family relationships in the search for security and social protection, these relations are presented as the only trustworthy ones [*de confianza*]. This is particularly the case in a context where the wider institutional landscape of the state and labour market is uncertain, insecure, fragile and weak (see Copestake and Wood, 2008: 198).

In this section I have identified relational anchoring as being based on a sense of togetherness, closeness and relations of affection, predominantly among family. I have emphasised the significance of mothers and a maternal connection.

Alongside the intrinsic value of relationships I have argued that for Esperanza residents, family relations are regarded as central sources of support. I then argued that a key reason why family relations are so important is due to insecurity in community relations which are characterised by a lack of trust, suspicion and gossip. The remainder of the chapter focuses on how people rework family relations and a sense of anchoring in these relations when they are living apart for prolonged periods of time.

7.4 Anchoring routines

As stated in the introduction, Auyero and Swistun (2008) introduce the notion of ‘anchoring routines’ to explain how residents of an Argentinean shantytown have taken roots in the community through routines of building families, enjoying friends and working. I use this idea of ‘anchoring routines’ to demonstrate how people try to rework a sense of anchoring in family relations with prolonged periods of separation through mobility. Here, ‘anchoring routines’ refer to the practices through which people continue and rework relations with family. Phone calls, text messages, letters, visits and family gatherings, and ‘sending’ (gifts/money) and the provision of support/care are the main ‘anchoring routines’ through which relationships with significant others are continued. These practices mirror those identified in the transnational migration literature as being central to creating a feeling of ‘family hood’ across national borders (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002: 3). They have been termed ‘kin work’ or ‘caring about’ (Reynolds and Zontini, 2006). Caring about refers to “having affection and concern for the other and working on the relationship between the self and the other to ensure the development of the bond” (Yeates, 2004, cited in McKay, 2007: 176). Carrasco (2010) finds that among Peruvians living in Chile the exchanges of money, goods and communications across borders confirm the nature of the relationship between sender and receiver; and helps “to reproduce and maintain family relationships and hold family members together as part of a common unit” (Carrasco, 2010: 190). Through these anchoring routines family members seek to regain a sense of togetherness, closeness and to reaffirm and continue relations of love and affection, a sense of relational anchoring.

Families establish a sense of togetherness and closeness through regular phone calls

“Although my father is over there [Huancayo], we are a close family [*una familia unida*], we are together [*estamos juntos*] because we always call each other. Now with mobile phones it’s even better, we can call each other at any time” (Manuel, E52, 24 years old).

Rosa (E9, 50 years old) became tearful when we started to talk about her youngest daughter living in the USA, she left Peru three years previously and Rosa has not seen her in that time. Rosa speaks to her daughter every other day on the phone and expresses how she tries to make her daughter present, to feel her presence (cf. Tamagno, 2002). She asks her daughter if she is sitting or standing, her daughter responds “ ‘mum, why do you always ask me that?’ , because I want to imagine how you are, as if I was seeing you”. Rosa also has siblings who live in the USA, they always call her “they love me, they have their own families but they don’t forget me”. During phone calls concern, care and worry are expressed which reinforces relationships. Lurdes (E50) emphasises that parents always need to be worried about their children, “always asking after your daughter and this is to love a daughter”. Worrying and being concerned show affection and make others feel love (Harrison, 1989, in Van Vleet, 2008: 81). Leinaweaver (2008a: 128) similarly finds that expressions of affection are “couched in the idiom of worry”.

Affection is also displayed through ‘sending’, and giving. There were numerous references in interviews with rural, peri-urban, and urban residents about ‘sending’ and gift-giving as symbols of affection, love and caring among men and women, and symbolising the meaning of family (Deere, 1990; Van Vleet, 2008). Receiving a package also shows a person that they are remembered, they feel the presence of the person sending the gift/money, “feeling that you have someone in another place” (Miguel, E18, 25 years old). Goods given and received are specific and appropriate to place (as shown in the literature cited in chapter three). Esperanza residents send their relatives in villages goods which cannot be obtained ‘over there’ in rural areas, including clothes, shoes, groceries (cooking oil, rice, pasta, noodles), and detergents. The goods they receive from rural areas include agricultural produce, local cheeses, coca leaves, and coffee (from *selva*). Gifts given from rural and peri-urban residents are often just token amounts, sending agricultural produce for children ‘to taste’, ‘to balance their nutrition’,

‘for them to eat better’ and this displays a parent’s care and concern for their children. As Vincent (2000: 166) finds sending home-grown produce

“is often expressed as being a token amount for the children to ‘taste’ (*para probar*) ... and serves as much as an ideological mechanism to enforce the bonds between parents and children as it is an economic good”.

Some commented however that it was not worth their relatives sending them agricultural produce because it often perished during the time it took to arrive to them.

Some families managed to establish regularity or routine in visiting each other, especially when relatives are not separated by vast distances. Emigio’s (E7, 48 years old) parents live in Cañete (around three to four hours from Lima), he explains

“we’re a close family [*una familia unida*], we don’t stop visiting each other... we’re close, it’s not far away, they themselves come and go”
[visiting Esperanza every 15 days].

Visits are opportunities to give and receive gifts, again as a display of love and affection. Bertha (E13, 65 years old) gives fruit, sweets, or bread to her ‘*tio-papa*’s (her ‘dad-uncle’ who is like a father to her) family when she arrives at her village of origin in Junin “this makes them feel more and love me more”.

Eduardo (E27, 81 years old) similarly comments when his nephew comes to visit him: “He loves me because when he comes... he always brings some little thing”.

When Lizbet (E46, 48 years old) goes to visit her siblings, who live in the *sierra* in Junin, La Oroya and Huancayo, she never leaves empty handed “although they are poor they all give to me, they love me”. Visits are also important in providing care and practical support, for example, returning to help with the harvest, to look after a sick relative, to take care of grandchildren. As Ryan *et al* (2008: 684) emphasise that “one cannot underestimate the importance of proximity in terms of practical, hands-on support and assistance”. These anchoring routines reinforce a sense of togetherness and closeness among family and reaffirm affectionate relations. The next chapter will consider further the emotional dimension of these anchoring routines. In contrast to the literature presented in chapter three, the working out of these anchoring routines is portrayed as a struggle and challenge. Those residents who appear to have established a regularity to anchoring routines,

visiting each other often, phoning regularly, ‘sending’ to each other, supporting each other, tended to be the relatively more wealthy, often living in the central area of the community. The remainder of the chapter considers the practical and material constraints to maintaining and reworking relationships, and the moralities that guide these practices.

7.5 Practical and material constraints to establishing anchoring routines

Anchoring routines of phoning, sending and visiting are central to keeping relations with dispersed family going and to regaining a sense of anchoring in these relations. However, what struck me in the interviews was, as Ryan (2010: 91) has argued, the actual reworking of relationships does not reveal a “celebration of ‘dual lives’” or ‘multi-locational lives’ but points to the “conflicting priorities”, struggles and tensions that people face as they rework relationships with family living elsewhere, as they seek to establish regularity in anchoring routines. It is important not to overly romanticise extended family ties and “celebrate their work as a symbol of collective family unity” (Parreñas, 2005: 115). As stated in the previous chapter, the majority of Esperanza residents interviewed had not achieved to become professionals with few managing to study beyond secondary school, and had not secured stable, salaried work. The extent to which families can rework and ‘rejig’ their relationships through establishing anchoring routines is related to the material and practical conditions in which people live which are moulded by the broader politico-economic context (e.g. the labour market) (Menjívar, 2000: 5). These conditions shape what is possible and “establish a material framework for the negotiation of priorities” (Mason, 2004a: 427). A contrasting picture emerges to that in chapter three where the literature portrays a relative ease and smoothness of connectivity and where continuity and interconnections have been emphasised.

Location is important as it relates to infrastructural constraints on communication and connectivity. Apart from Rosa (E9, 50 years old), no-one mentioned maintaining communications via the internet - email, skype or social networking media, showing the lack of access to computers, despite the presence in Esperanza of several internet ‘*cabinas*’ where one can pay to use a

computer/internet for a certain period of time. Although communication has been aided by the spread of mobile phone use, which has undoubtedly made a real difference for many, not all households in the study had their own phone (landline or mobile) and developments in telecommunications have not reached the more remote *sierra* or *selva* villages which are still lacking electricity. In Lejano the only telephone available at the time of fieldwork was a satellite phone in the small shop which is also a meeting point for villagers, alongside the cost of calls and logistics of receiving calls, there is a lack of privacy in phone calls. As Mahler (2001: 588) argues “the global village remains a distant vision for many people”. In this way, it seems that communications between Esperanza residents and relatives living abroad are more regular and routine, as in Rosa’s case mentioned above with her daughter in the United States, compared to communications with relatives living in remote areas within the country.

This difficulty in communication in remote areas explains partly why visits are often unplanned and spontaneous. Oscar (E15, 58 years old) explains how his aunts/uncles and nieces/nephews arrive without notice: “from one moment to the next they come, maybe they arrive in the morning, like this they come”. Bertha (E13, 65 years old) tends to arrive unannounced to her village (Junin, *sierra*), turning up ‘by surprise’ without advising anyone. In Esperanza, lack of time is a frequently mentioned constraint to visiting family in other places, and although visits are aided by closer proximity, some still found it difficult to visit family living in other neighbourhoods of Lima due to long working hours and a subsequent lack of time. Those who do make return visits to family living further away can often only stay for a couple of days at a time, even when it is the only visit in one or two years, due to work and family commitments. The pressure on time is added to by the remoteness of many villages. Sofia (E17, 25 years old) was born in Ayacucho and moved to Apurimac (*selva*) with her family when she was three years old, they were forced to move due to the terrorism. She moved to Esperanza when she was 15 years old. Her parents and siblings (one has joined her in Esperanza) still live in Apurimac. During the ten years she has been in Lima, the transport to the village has improved. She explains that she used to have to walk for a day to reach her village from the nearest bus stop, which when only having a few days to make a visit made it nearing impossible. Leaving Esperanza for extended periods of time is difficult. Many cannot afford time off work or

away from their own businesses to make visits elsewhere. Lucia (E3, 35 years old) runs a small shop [*tienda*] from her home, this is her only income. She cannot afford to close her shop for days to leave the community:

“I have to get money for school, for food, for water, for electricity, for everything, I can’t close, I can’t go”.

Maricela (E22, 23 years old) expresses the insecurity of leaving one’s home empty for fear of robbery: “you can’t leave your house alone, thieves are going to come in”. The cost of long-distance travel also limits the extent to which people can make visits. Sofia (E17) explains how her parents, whose main source of income is coffee production, were unable to travel to Lima to visit her when the price of coffee was low.

“There was no money at that time, the price of coffee went really down, no, they had nothing, how were they going to come? Because to get here, a fare at that time was difficult”

Sofia also finds it difficult to cover the cost of her visits to them:

“I would love to be there, for example for a birthday, mother’s day, you always want to spend them with your family, no? Sometimes to go from here to my village, the fare is expensive ... But on holiday days, special days, the fares double or triple and so its difficult ... We’re watching the money, if we go for a return it’s 280 soles” [around £50]

For many the village or place of origin was “a place out of reach” (Rohregger, 2006: 1160) due to financial and practical constraints, visiting once a year to every two years to even less frequently. It is more common for relatives to visit Esperanza than for Esperanza residents to return to place of origin⁸⁶. Receiving visitors rather than visiting origin, or visiting rarely and infrequently is further evidence that place is less significant as a source of anchoring, and a further indication of the focus of anchoring routines being not on the village but on the family. Rohregger (2006: 1158) argues not visiting places of origin for years, or only visiting at times of crises or key events (weddings, funerals) suggests that

“the importance of the village as the ‘true’ home and source of identity and belonging with which it is central to keep up strong emotional and material

⁸⁶ This is supported by data from the RANQ cited in chapter five, which showed the largest proportion of households making visits outside the community during the previous year, involving staying away more than one night, was in the rural sites (90.9%, 77.3%), followed by the peri-urban ones (70%, 59.5%). The lowest percentage of households (53.6%) was in Esperanza.

ties and to which one will eventually return, stands on rather shaky ground”⁸⁷.

Added to the travel cost of visits is also the feeling of pressure from expectations to return with gifts or money for their relatives. Several interviewees emphasise the need to return with ‘your hands full’ of goods/gifts for relatives. Bertha (E13, 65 years old) explains when she returns to her village in Junin “I never arrive empty handed, I always arrive with my hands full”. Sofia (E17) continues

“when you go, I always want to go to my mum but at least taking something, no? ... always your brothers and sisters are waiting, ‘my sister she’ll be bringing me [something]’, when you arrive they start to look, imagine if you arrive with nothing”.

Felix (E1, 40 years old) also feels pressure to return with goods for his mother

“When I go, I can’t go with empty hands.... Because your mum is going to ask you for a t-shirt, shoes, no? mums ask you for things, ... you have to take her clothes, fruit, oil, whatever little thing... When you go to visit you must take something even if it’s just fruit, you must take something”.

In cases where relatives had left the country as undocumented migrants there is no possibility of visiting each other. Here the constraints of place take on another dimension. Coe (2011b: 149) identifies that

“distance and proximity ... are not just physical attributes but are generated by human activity and its products – national boundaries, immigration laws, direct airline flights, and the expense of travel and communication”.

Undocumented migrants face an ‘impossibility of being together’ (Carrasco, 2010) due to immigration law which makes visits to Peru impossible as they would be unable to return and re-enter the country. Most of Isabel’s (E39, 38 years old) siblings live in the USA, she is particularly close to one of her older brothers who migrated to the United States ‘without papers’ (the brother mentioned above in section 7.2.2):

⁸⁷ Ferguson (1992: 81) explores the degrees of connectivity among urban migrants with their rural home village in his fieldwork in Zambia. Ferguson proposes a continuum differentiating ‘localists’ with stronger connection to rural home village and ‘cosmopolitans’ (often better off) with more distant connections with rural home village if any at all. Cosmopolitans regard the “‘home’ village as a faraway place, rarely if ever actually seen or visited, to which one is connected more by nostalgia and sentimental attachment than by social and economic ties or life trajectories”. Many Esperanza residents appear to be situated more towards the ‘cosmopolitan’ end of the continuum.

“if he had his papers he would come to visit, he suffers a lot, sometimes he cries [Isabel starts to cry], because, more than anything on important dates like mother’s day, Christmas, his birthday, he’s really sad and nostalgic, he says ‘I would love to be there to be able to hug you, to tell you that I love you ... I’m here and there’s no happiness’ because he can’t be in this country [Peru]”.

In these cases where physical co-presence is impossible, phone calls become central in staying connected and ‘feeling their presence’ (as shown by Rosa above).

Minimal coverage of the national postal system Serpost and the cost of sending packages⁸⁸ with bus/coach companies make the logistics of sending packages and money challenging and demanding. As Ida (E16, 27 years old) comments

“to send a package is a little difficult, because you pay, sometimes as he [husband] doesn’t have secure work, you can’t send. When you don’t work you don’t have [money] even for sending them a package”.

‘Sending’ is more commonly accomplished through a personalised system of relatives and fellow villagers [*paisanos*] travelling back and forth. Sofia (E17) and Miguel (E18) send packages to their families in Apurimac and Ayacucho through their *paisanos*. Sofia explains that it has taken her time to develop these connections, over the ten year period that she has been living in Esperanza, she has gradually got to know her *paisanos* in Lima who can take packages for her family when they ‘come and go’. However, others felt that they could not entrust their *paisanos* with their letters, packages and money to deliver them to their families and relied instead on close relatives who were considered more trustworthy. Esther (E41, 44 years old) has lived in Esperanza for 15 years, her parents and two siblings still live in the village where she grew up in Huancavelica. Three other siblings live in other districts of Lima. Esther expresses her frustrations with trying to get parcels, letters and money safely and securely to her parents and siblings in Huancavelica:

“Sometimes people from Conaica come, but sometimes, there’s no trust [*confianza*]. When you send a letter, *encomienda*, and it doesn’t arrive,

⁸⁸ *Encomienda* - a sack or bundle of produce, or more broadly a package.

because of this my mum doesn't send [anything to me]. Also, when I ask my parents, I've sent [a package] with this person, and my mum says they didn't deliver it to me. ...And she says if your cousins or siblings come then only with them I'll send to you, not anymore with other people [*paisanos*], don't feel bad that I don't send to you with these people because it gets lost".

Esther continues:

"Also when I send to them from here they say there's nothing, ... there's no *confianza* now to send [things] with the *paisanos*, neighbours, not money, letters, groceries, you can't send anything [with them]. One time when I sent [something] with a *paisano*, they said that the bus was robbed, they'd forgotten it, or that they lost the packet. Later they said to my mum "I brought something from your daughter but I forgot and it has gone with the bus, all of this they say, [it's all] lies".

Esther waits until a close relative travels – a brother or a cousin, sending directly with them, these being the more trustworthy and reliable relations. Others just wait to give or exchange gifts during personal visits as mentioned earlier. Data from the WeD-RANQ (n=265) for Esperanza reveal that only 6% of households stated that they made a transfer in the last year to relatives, and only 7% of households stated that they received a transfer from relatives in the last year. These figures were surprisingly very low. They may be partly explained due to suspicion and reluctance to disclose this information to strangers. However, I view these low figures as being directly linked to the logistical and financial constraints in 'sending'. The low figures may also suggest a diminishing presence of relatives living in places of origin, as older relatives die or due to family reunification in Lima. The figures do suggest that the actual extent of transfers being made in this context is much lower than the literature suggests. In the other urban site Progreso (n=200) figures for transfers were similarly low, with 10% of households receiving a transfer and only 3% making a transfer (source: WeD-RANQ). It is my impression that remittances from international migrants are more significant in terms of material value and frequency; several households appeared dependent on these as the only source of income sustaining the household. For example, Isabel's (E39, 38 years old) brother in the United States sends her money monthly which she uses to meet the daily subsistence needs of

food and shelter for herself and her children. Isabel is a single mother and relies on this support from her brother to sustain her household⁸⁹. Isabel feels embarrassed that she is reliant on the money for survival and cannot invest the money or put it to productive use:

“He [her brother] asks me ‘what are you doing?’ it makes me embarrassed to say to him ‘nothing’. He tells me ‘do something, invest the money in something, in a business’. ... I don’t do it, I’m very negative, ‘why don’t you do this, or that, I send you money and you can make a little business’”.

This section has sought to draw out the struggles entailed in practices of connection due to the intertwining of practical and material constraints – infrastructural, time and financial constraints. It has shown the importance of place and distance in shaping what is possible. Anchoring routines require financial resources to cover the costs of travel, gifts, postage and phone-calls. The majority of Esperanza residents struggle to get by, to make ends meet and struggle to participate in the kinds of activities required to keep relationships going. It does appear that it is the relatively better off (but still poor) residents, those living in the more central areas of the community, who are better able to attain a sense of regularity or routine in practices of connection with their families in other places. Mitchell (1997) similarly finds that better off ‘migrants’ in Lima were able to preserve connections to the village whereas the poor lacked the resources needed to sustain ties of reciprocity. Guillen-Royo (2007) also notes that it is those who can afford it who return to villages for *fiestas* and festivals. As stated in Chapter three, there is a rural expectation that ‘migrants’ will finance village *fiestas* and these events represent an arena to demonstrate to others that they are progressing in the city (Paerregaard, 1997; Roberts, 1974). Financing such events certainly appeared beyond the means and beyond the reach of many of those Esperanza residents interviewed. Narratives of Esperanza residents reflect a sense of struggle and pressure to spread their already insufficient and stretched resources among family members in various locations and many felt they could not accomplish what they desired in terms of keeping relations with family going. Limited resources are juggled due to the competing demands of deepening

⁸⁹ This also means that households that are reliant on income from relatives living abroad to sustain their households experience vulnerability when flows become irregular or disrupted.

anchoring to one's immediate family – spouse/partner and children and continuing anchoring to kin relations – especially parents and siblings. The final section turns to consider how the morality of care identified in the previous chapter is worked out and negotiated.

7.6 Moralities guiding anchoring routines

This section explores the obligations and responsibilities that guide the reworking of relational anchoring, particularly in relation to care and support. Cultures are dynamic systems of norms and values; they tell us what is 'normal' and what is 'expected' in any social context (McGregor, 2007: 18). However, culture "does not deterministically dictate what people do" (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997: 551). This final section of the chapter seeks to draw out "the contested way in which cultural rules are implemented" (Mitchell, 2006: 101). Obligation does not necessarily translate into social practice (Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008). The previous chapter revealed a strong sense of commitment and care between parents and children and among siblings, a morality of care, as central to the idea of moving to get ahead. It showed this morality of care is guided by reciprocity – an expectation that children would reciprocate the *ayuda* [help] their parents had given them in the search to get ahead. Cultural notions of reciprocity and a sense of shared, mutual collective responsibility are central to family relations. However, the way this sense of commitment and morality of care is established and worked out is not predetermined or fixed, but is contested, ambiguous and uncertain, especially given the material and practical constraints mentioned above. This is particularly the case when anchoring to kin relations competes with the demands from anchoring to one's own immediate family – partner and children, in a context of limited and stretched material resources. The way caring and support works out in practice is highly gendered. The way in which the morality of care has to be worked out in practice is most evident when people withdraw from responsibilities. I agree with Evergeti and Ryan (2011: 363-364) that the provision of care between migrants and their parents and siblings

“depends on capacity (access to resources, time constraints, finances), and the sense of obligation to participate as well as individual negotiated

priorities, for example whether a migrant has children, can take time off work, has the financial means to travel or send money home”.

7.6.1 Reciprocity, obligation and *voluntad*

There is a clear guiding principle of reciprocity underlying family relationships, especially between parents and children. As stated in chapter three, reciprocity and mutual assistance have historically been central to Andean social relations. It is important to note that the two-way flow of care continues when parents are older. Many older parents still feel the need and duty to keep supporting their adult children, financially and providing practical support for example, caring for grandchildren. Narratives display a strong continuing commitment to parents, emphasising the struggles, suffering and sacrifices their parents made raising them, especially mothers, which must be reciprocated (cf Van Vleet, 2002). Adult children commented that because parents had ‘given their lives to them’, ‘given them life’, mother’s had given birth to them, they too needed to give their lives to their parents. This reciprocity is viewed as life-long, ‘right until the end’, ‘until the last day of their lives’.

“what I have I give to my mother, no? as she has also supported me since I was young, and I give to her, I repay her [*le doy la compensación*], I support her, until the day that she closes her eyes. I give to my parents the same that they have given to me” (Nicolas, E29, 38 years).

This sense of reciprocity reveals a deep sense of responsibility and morality of care between parents and children, and among siblings, that appears to transcend a notion of reciprocity in terms of mutual exchanges of goods/money and help. Lurdes (E50) details how her siblings all looked after her father when he was elderly and needing care. Although her father did not give them an education, her siblings had to go out to work and study in night school, supporting themselves, they still looked after him until he died because they had ‘*voluntad*’ [the will and desire to support him]. *Voluntad* is “an obligation that a person fulfils because of an underlying relationship, most importantly kinship, that binds two people together” (Mayer, 1977: 63). *Voluntad* is expressed as helping *because* they are family “I do it because she’s my daughter”, because of a deep sense of responsibility and moral obligation to family. *Voluntad* struck me as an important basis to anchoring routines of sending, giving and caring. Presenting giving and

caring as based on *voluntad*, as voluntary, appears important in the context of family relations, in terms of the nature of the relationship that it expresses. Giving and caring voluntarily [*de voluntad*] confirms and consolidates the relationship. *Voluntad* is displayed by sending, giving and helping ‘out of affection/love’, ‘as an affection’, ‘from the heart’, ‘not obligated’⁹⁰. *Voluntad* is contrasted with giving or caring based on ‘dry affection’ [*cariño seco*], solely due to obligation or duty rather than ‘true’ affection and warmth. This implies a lack of emotional content in the relationship and is associated with coldness. Further displays of *voluntad* appear in the way that support is spoken about. Often money is not explicitly mentioned but is referred to as a ‘sum’ [*cifra*], ‘gift’ [*regalo*] or a ‘tip’ [*mi propina*] or just simply ‘sending’ ‘he/she sends to me’ [*me manda*] not specifying exactly what is being sent and received. Leinaweaver (2008a: 92) identifies the voluntary nature of the *propina*:

“through the *propina* a particular kind of relationship is being expressed... The ‘gratuity’ suggests spontaneity, rather than obligation, and represents gratitude”.

Voluntad is expressed by the spontaneous nature of support and giving, being unexpected and not asked for. Waldo (L11, 66 years old) explains that the clothes and groceries he receives from his son in Lima are given *de voluntad*: “it’s my son’s goodwill [*es su voluntad de mi hijo*] ... maybe I’m not expecting this help, he does it at any moment”. A further way *voluntad* is conveyed is that several interviewees emphasised the amount given is not calculated. Nicolas (E29, 38 years old) explains that when his father died his siblings all contributed to the burial costs according to their means.

“each child [sibling] gives what they have... I don’t want to argue over who has given more, who has given less ... because ... one gives according to their heart, no?”

Victor (E38, 42 years old) left his village in Cusco when eight years old and has lived apart from his mother, who still lives in Cusco, since then. He continues to

⁹⁰ It is important to recognise however the tension between freewill and obligation that characterises the gift, as Mauss illuminates (2002: 3) “exchanges and contracts take place in the form of presents; in theory these are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily”. As mentioned in section 7.4, several respondents revealed an underlying expectation from relatives to return to visit with their ‘hands full’ with gifts.

support her, together with his siblings (two siblings live in other districts in Lima, and two have remained in Cusco):

“we give a sum [*cifra*], what we have, what we can, we don’t say ‘you brother this much’, no, what we can. For example, in these three months I’m able to give more and the other trimester I can give less, it’s like this”.

The material value of what is sent is portrayed as less significant than the actual act of giving. Maria (E2, 33 years old) sends her father in Cusco bags of sweets when her aunt returns to visit “four bags or one little bag”, signifying it is not the quantity sent that is important but that it is sent with much affection. As mentioned earlier, goods sent from rural areas are often just ‘token amounts’ and are about continuing the relationship. Money sent from relatives living outside the country however appears to have more material value.

Presenting giving and caring as ‘out of affection/love’, ‘as an affection’, voluntary, ‘from the heart’, not expected, asked for, or calculated, is an important basis or guiding principle to anchoring routines. As Leinaweaver (2008a: 93) argues in relation to the *propina*, it reinscribes social relations,

“simultaneously framing these relations as voluntary while at the same time making them habitual, patterned, and regular”.

Voluntad appears to convey the sense of anchoring in the relationship and serves to preserve and strengthen the relationship.

7.6.2 Competing anchors and gendered responsibilities

As the quotes from Nicolas and Victor above suggest, there is a strong sense of shared responsibility among siblings towards parents, and within the family more generally, providing support and care collectively⁹¹. This is exemplified in how care is organised through ‘taking it in turns’ [*por turno*] to look after a relative needing practical care. Manuel (E52, 24 years old) explains that his *abuelo* was cared for ‘*por turno*’ by his parents and *tios*, it being a shared and equal responsibility among men and women:

“It’s equal for men and women. For my grandfather in Huancayo all of them have cared for him equally, man and woman they cared for him ‘*por*

⁹¹ Lobo (1982) also finds that siblings have a sense of duty to act in unity.

turno', one month one aunt, the other month another uncle, it was like that".

Caring *por turno* also extends to an international level. Rosa's (E9, 50 years old) mother (78 years old) usually spends 6 months in the USA with Rosa's brothers then six months in Lima with Rosa's sister. A further example of the sense of a shared responsibility of care among family is the notion of '*hacemos la bolsa*' [literally 'we make a bag'] which refers to collective contributions of money or goods to those in need. Oscar (E15, 58 years old) details how when his son went to Argentina leaving his wife and child in Peru, they 'made a bag', all the family put together money and food monthly to support them until his son started 'sending'.

However, often the reality of how care and support is worked out is less equal; responsibilities of care are gendered. The main form of support given by males to close kin is financial/material assistance which is consistent with cultural notions of men as providers, working to sustain oneself and one's family (Fuller, 2000). As Rita (E23, 55 years old) expresses

"but a man is not going to be like a woman. The man leaves a little money 'ok mum, I'm going to return such and such a day or my sister's going to be coming, let me know if there's anything' and that's all, 'I must return to work'".

Females tend to be the providers of practical support and care, such as caring for an ill parent or grandparent or returning to help with the harvest. It is important to note however that several cases were cited of males providing care and support: single sons returning to care for an ill or ageing parent (in Lejano and Alegria), of husbands taking care of children whilst the children's mother works abroad or returns to care for a parent, and of older men looking after grandchildren in Lima. Responsibilities of care also vary according to the marital status of the siblings which is also related to age hierarchies. It is single siblings who are considered the most available ones to provide care and support to parents/relatives and single siblings are often the youngest or among the younger of the children⁹². Rita explains

⁹² Deere (1990) notes that in the past, the tradition was for the youngest child to remain at home in the village to care for elderly parents but that this is no longer the case.

“when you’re single there’s no-one who can say ‘don’t go’, or ‘why are you going to your mum’s?’, you’re free”.

Rita’s son, Raul (E24, 21 years old) supported his father in Huancayo when he became ill. He has one sister who lives in Huancayo and three siblings who also live in Lima.

“my father was ill, we are five siblings, I’m the youngest and single, I had more time, I was in hospital – devoting myself to him until he recovered. My siblings only phoned because they had work, children, they had little time”.

Due to limited material resources and pressures of time many express tension and conflict around the competing demands from anchoring/commitments to ones immediate family (spouse/*conviviente* and children) and to close kin (parents and siblings). The mid-aged in particular face a double burden of supporting their own children and their parents. This portrays a sense of tension within and between households, as sentimental and economic attachments to parents compete with developing economic, social and affective relationships with spouse and children (Van Vleet, 2008: 71). Samuel (E4, 45 years old) is the youngest sibling and is single. When talking about his siblings living in Cerro de Pasco and Huancayo he comments that he feels they are more concerned with their own immediate families, they are worried about their children and their work. Samuel connects this with a possible lack of material resources:

“each one looks after their own things, it seems that what they have is not sufficient, or maybe they lack for themselves, no?”

The need to focus on ones’ immediate family is to a certain extent expected and accepted, but this appears to be more the case for sons than for daughters. There seems to be a tacit acceptance of men giving less support ‘because he has his wife and children’ or ‘because they are married’ yet there is still an expectation of the availability of a daughter who has a husband and children. This is portrayed by Esther (E41, 44 years old):

Esther: “although it should be equal daughters are always closer, for example, to wash your mum’s clothes, to bath her, sons aren’t going to, he will go to see her but that’s all, he will send money because he has his wife and children”

Researcher: the daughter also has a husband and children?

Esther: yes, but talking with her husband you can go to see your mum". The supposed availability of daughters is embedded in gender ideologies of appropriate roles and duties of sons and daughters – sons providing financially and daughters performing the caring tasks. The relation between daughters and parents is considered closer and more affectionate than the relation with sons. Epifania (E35, 22 years old) explains

"a man is a little colder... some, not all, no, men sometimes, because they are married, sometimes it's not the same as a daughter, always a daughter is more ... She's always looking after her parents more ... although sons too, but he's a little colder, also in showing how he feels".

A further dimension to the perceived closeness of daughters relates to the significance of and preference for care from 'true kin' (Van Vleet, 2002) or 'legitimate kin', which is based on the closeness of the kinship relationship, traced through one's own parents or siblings (Harvey, 1994). Given that females tend to do the caring work, daughters are preferred over going to sons and being cared for by daughters-in-law. Relations with in-laws are often viewed as problematic and conflictive: "affinal relationships between brothers and sisters-in-law and parents-in-law with daughters/sons-in-law are often quarrelsome and difficult" (Harvey, 1994: 78). Delia (A16, 53 years old) has one child living in Satipo (*selva*) and five children living in Lima. When contemplating her future needs for care Delia comments

"It wouldn't be the same to live with my children ... the daughters- and sons-in-laws they're different [*'otra forma'*], they wouldn't put up with me".

Lurdes (E50, 63 years old) expresses the ambiguity in relations with in-laws and the preference for daughters:

"There are men who love their mother-in-law, but others no. There are women who love their mothers-in-law, there are good daughters-in-law, others with hate... It's worse with the daughter-in-law, daughters on the other hand don't change, daughters are always with their mum".

Relations between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law are particularly viewed as conflictive and uncertain:

“mums are always jealous of the daughters-in-law ... I believe that a daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, they’re never going to get along with each other, it’s always going to be strange” (Filomena, E44, 45 years old). As Lurdes’ (E50) quote above suggests, daughters are viewed as more dependable and reliable (‘always with their mum’), there is an unquestionable and taken for granted duty of a daughter to her parents. As Pedro (E48, 60 years old) comments “there are sons who don’t care a lot, daughters, yes, they’re always with their mum”. This compares with Anderson *et al*’s (2006) finding of an ‘attitude of availability’ among young women in cases of emergency e.g. illness of a member of the extended family. Sons are viewed (and experienced by some) as being more likely to evade their responsibilities when they have their own family. Benita’s (E40, 35 years old) father (59 years old, from Huancavelica) has joined her in Esperanza, however her brother, who also lives in Esperanza, does not give her any support, “my brother’s abandoned my dad”

“My brother didn’t want to have him, brothers are different ... he’s more concerned about his family, food for his wife and children that’s all. It seems that we don’t exist”.

Whilst several examples were given of sons/brothers not fulfilling their duties of care towards parents and siblings, there were fewer cases where complaints were made about daughters or sisters not fulfilling their duties. This suggests men have more room for manoeuvre in terms of continuing or discontinuing relations and also points towards the necessity of kin relations to women.

In general, however, the sons/brothers that were interviewed did continue supporting their parents/siblings; this brings tension and conflict within their own household. In these situations the difficulty in rejecting or refusing these commitments and sense of duty to kin, to mothers in particular, is revealed. Nicolas (E29, 38 years old) conveys how he has struggled to continue to support his parents when he has his own household to provide for (wife and children) “I have a family, I have other mouths to feed”. His continued financial support to his parents (his father has now died) has created conflict with his wife as they were ‘lacking’ in their own household.

“my partner didn’t think the same, no, ‘why must you give to him [his father]’? They’re my parents they have given to me, and now they need me”.

Following his father's illness and subsequent death, his mother, who lives in another district of Lima (originally from Apurimac, southern *sierra*), became ill:

"What happened? I decided to draw out everything that I have, all for my mum, ... to cover her energy, her electricity, her water". "I have to give my mother what I have".

This again caused conflict with his wife because they needed the money in their own home. Nicolas emphasises that he was the one who went out to work, to make a living, implying that it was his money and his decision about how it was spent.

Vilma (E30, 39 years old) conveys her resentment at her husband's (from Juaja, central *sierra*) continued commitment to his family, especially his mother:

"he always says 'my mother comes before my wife' ... My husband says 'mamacita' [mum with much affection], lovely *mamacita*, he's giving her *propina*. I argue with him ... sometimes I ask him for other things and 'I don't have, I don't have money' he says".

Vilma tells her husband "Jose, look, you give everything to your mum, I'm also here, I have my son, I also want you to give to me", wanting him to be equal with her and his mother,

"but then I realise ... it doesn't matter to Jose, like they say whilst your mother is alive, you give to her what you can, because your mum has struggled, has sacrificed (herself for you), no?"

Nicolas' and Vilma's cases reveal the ongoing, enduring commitment to mothers. They reveal the strong moral sway that blood relations hold over a man, often superior to that of his wife (Fonseca, 1991).

For women, putting kin relations before her relation with her husband/partner is more difficult as they are positioned differently in the household. Women have less control and power over resources and less say over where the money goes. *Machismo* is still deeply rooted in Peruvian culture and patriarchal relations and notions of male dominance within the family persist (Crabtree, 2002). This was evident in female and male narratives. Although many husbands/*convivientes* do not appear to deny a woman's support to her family, acknowledging the need to support one's family, they express that the husband/male partner has the power to decide and determine the type and level of support given and the need to seek a man's permission and authorisation. Nicolas

(E29, 38 years old) emphasises that the husband is “the head of the household... he’s the base, he lays the foundations, he’s going to say – you do like this, or he must give the permission, no?” Benita (E40, 35 years old) similarly expresses that men are in charge, in command, making the decisions in the household, and that “you have to obey them”. Women appear to have less of a claim on money within the household for their own relatives and need to seek out ways that they can continue to support relatives. This sometimes entails hiding support from their husbands/male partners. Maximo (E32, 31 years old) emphasises that a woman’s commitments should lie first and foremost with her spouse and children and secondly as a daughter. Maximo’s wife, Ana (E33, 19 years old) complains that she is not able to help or visit her mother who lives nearby, her husband will not let her go. Later on in the interview however Ana explains that when her husband says “don’t go to your mum”, “I go quietly, I escape to my mum with my baby”, hiding it from her husband. Justina (E6, 22 years old) similarly explains “... a daughter always, even hiding it from her husband, so that she gives (money, goods) to her mum”. This again is evidence of the strong ‘moral sway’ of close kin. It also reveals the inherent contradiction that although there is a clear notion of a woman’s availability to help family, and daughters are viewed as the most dependable and reliable, due to a woman’s positioning in the household she faces conflicting demands as a daughter and a wife (Bourque and Warren, 1981), she faces a greater struggle within the household to live up to these expectations and maintain kin relations. A further dimension of unequal positioning in the household is that cases where husbands/*convivientes* do support a woman’s relatives (for example, through buying medicines, clothes, or having them to stay in the household), women consider themselves fortunate – the exception rather than the norm. This section has shown that responsibilities of care and support within families are highly gendered. It has emphasised the tension surrounding the working out of responsibilities of care particularly when there are competing demands from anchoring to one’s immediate family and to kin relations. However, on the whole, the Esperanza interviews indicate the continuing sway of kin, especially to mothers.

7.6.3 Withdrawal from responsibilities

Further evidence that the morality of care among family has to be worked out in practice is the withdrawal from responsibilities, when competing or conflicting anchors give way to a focus on the immediate family and a breaking away from parents and siblings. Although the above has emphasised the struggle in continuing relationships with limited resources, having resources does not necessarily secure or guarantee support and assistance. There were several cases where relatives (siblings, children, aunts/uncles) with stable jobs, who are professionals and often living in more up-market districts in Lima seem to dissociate themselves from poorer, lower-class relatives in Esperanza, excluding poor relatives. More wealthy family members are referred to as '*de tener*', 'having' as opposed to 'lacking'. This compares with Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke's (2008: 1187-88) finding that 'successful' children with high status jobs, living in better districts (in Buenos Aires) tended to provide little direct support to parents and rarely came to see them. Eduardo (E27, 81 years old) raised his nephews when his brother died (when Eduardo was 26 years old) and has been 'like a father' to them, helping with their education. His nephews now live in Cerro de Pasco and Huanuco and he identifies these relations as particularly important to him. His narrative is often confusing, talking about his children but it not being clear if he is referring to his own children or his nephews. One nephew is very '*sobrado*' [well-off, wealthy], Eduardo views him as having the resources to help, but he does not offer any form of support to Eduardo.

"he doesn't love me ... at one time my son was in bed for a year, I was in a bad situation, he has money but not even one *sol* did he give to my son nor to me. Whereas my Francisco [another nephew], ... he gave me 100 *soles*, 200 *soles*, saying 'get my brother better' ... But he who was raised in my hand, nothing, not even a pair of shoes ... despite all I gave him".

Even though Eduardo raised his nephews this does not secure their future support even when they seem to have the resources to help. Since the age of 14, Modesta (E11, 43 years old) was working as a domestic worker [*empleada*] in Lima and sending goods (rice, sugar, cooking oil) back to her mother in Huancayo for her siblings, everything she earned she gave to them. Despite the sacrifice she made for her siblings she is lacking help and support, struggling to raise her four young children on her own. Modesta has a brother who lives in Lima who she perceives

to have the resources to help her but he does not want anything to do with her. His children all live in the USA and according to Modesta, send money to him. Modesta remarks that her brother's wife is wealthy and she does not want to associate herself with a lower class, she explains that her brother does not meet with her or communicate with her because she's poor and of a lower class, "they only meet with people of their level, the high class, that have money". Similarly, Justina (E6, 22 years old) has wealthier distant relatives, her mother's cousins, who Justina calls aunts and uncles, are all professionals and many live abroad in Argentina and Spain. One aunt lives in 'a big house' in San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, however Justina explains that that they never invite her or her close family to their meetings and parties – they just have their parties among themselves.

"we don't go to see her [aunt], nor does she come here ... they are not like (people) here ... It's another social, society, well they only mix among each other, those who live in San Juan de Lurigancho, as they've studied, everything between themselves, they get together, they're all professionals".

The disconnection and lack of support from wealthier relatives is portrayed as a deliberate withdrawal from responsibilities. The socio-economic distance appears to create distance and a conscious evasion of obligation and responsibility (Rohregger, 2006). The perception of wealth difference is the perspective of those who have been cut off, isolated and excluded from the relationship, a perception of relative wealth difference, which I could not personally verify. It is not clear what else might be lying behind this evasion of responsibility. Whether family support is no longer needed when one's economic situation is sufficiently solid, when managing financially, allowing a withdrawal from relations (Lomnitz, 1977: 149-150)⁹³, or whether they need to protect themselves from continual financial requests (Coe, 2011a), a reaction to the demands being placed on them from poor relatives being too great.

In other cases, withdrawal from family responsibilities is a consequence of living in poverty and the demands from competing anchors to ones immediate family and kin being too great leading to a 'forced isolation' from kin. This

⁹³ Lomnitz argues that when one's economic situation is sufficiently solid, continued reciprocal support relations become unnecessary (1977: 149-150). Lomnitz views an 'equality of wants' – a similar economic situation, as the basis of reciprocal support networks.

chapter has shown how Esperanza residents struggle to maintain family relations due to economic poverty. As Anderson (2007a) argues, precarious living conditions due to structural influences of widespread unemployment and low wages impact on family life. Menjivar (2000: 33) argues that social networks, and those based on kinship in particular, can “weaken under extreme conditions of poverty, when too many demands are placed on individuals”. Disassociation from family in some narratives was directly linked to a lack of resources forcing them to withdraw their support and contact with family, leading to a ‘forced isolation’, which was expressed as not desired but necessary. Rohregger (2006: 1155) similarly identifies a ‘forced individualism’ in circumstances where the constraints of social and economic conditions force people “to deny and subvert the very support obligations they depend on”. Felix (E1, 40 years old) depends on temporary jobs in construction, as a porter in markets, and as a bus ticket collector to provide for the household, his wife stays at home looking after their son and suffers from ill health. Felix reveals how his struggle to meet the daily subsistence needs of his own household has forced him to withdraw support and connection from his mother (lives in Cañete, coast, south of Lima), he does not send to her.

“Now I’m neglecting her, my mum, a lot, why? Because of poverty [*falta de economia*], you know, you have to go with money, what do you do without money, no? ... it’s more a matter of money, sometimes it’s not enough, because of that we don’t leave, because if it would be enough, well I would go. Sometimes what I earn is just for my son, for food more than anything. It’s more because of money [*la economia*] ... this is the reality, how much I want to have a stable job for my mum, tranquil work, but this is how it is”

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Felix left primary school to work to support his mother, brother and step-siblings. He seems tired of being the one to hold the family together and his brother who lives in Lima continues to be a burden on him, he has often needed to support his brother’s children in the past. Alongside his material poverty, there is an underlying relational story of fragmented and strained family relationships. Similarly, in the case of Benita (E40, 35 years old) (mentioned in section 7.6.2), it is not clear whether the lack of support from her brother is due to his forced isolation because he lacks the material resources to

help or related to some underlying family conflict. Benita is a widow, raising her four young children alone, her father and younger brother (12 years old) also live with her. Benita lives in extreme poverty, she lives with her family in a rented room, “I don’t have anything” She lacks money to buy food and clothes, she “lacks [*falta*] for everything”. However, there also seemed to be some underlying family tension which could also be part of the reason for her brother’s disconnection.

This section has explored aspects of the moral basis to relational anchoring. It has identified reciprocity and a shared responsibility as a key basis to family relations. I have argued that by presenting giving, support, and caring as voluntary [*voluntad*] this conveys the depth of the relation and reinforces and strengthens the bond. The rest of the section focused on the tensions and ambiguities in working out commitments and responsibilities, especially with competing demands from anchoring to kin relations and ones immediate family in conditions of economic poverty. Gender is central to understanding these tensions and ambiguities. I have emphasised that the morality of care, which is based on notions of shared, collective responsibility and reciprocity, needs to be worked out in practice. This is evidenced in particular by the withdrawal from responsibilities which has strong class dimensions.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that family relations are central in giving a sense of anchoring in mobile lives. Anchoring reflects attachments to places and people and changes over time and across space, as families become dispersed through mobility. I have suggested that place is becoming personified and pointed to senses of anchoring among Esperanza residents being more family-based than village focused. Relational anchoring is based on a sense of togetherness, closeness, and relations of *cariño* among family; mothers and a maternal connection are particularly significant. Relational anchoring conveys the intrinsic value of relationships as important sources of wellbeing in themselves (Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008), but also as key sources of support. I have argued that in a context of insecurity in community relations due to a widespread lack of trust, family relations become particularly important.

When families become separated through mobility, a sense of anchoring is reworked through establishing ‘anchoring routines’ of phone calls and text messages, visits and family gatherings, ‘sending’, and providing support/care. It is through these practices that a sense of family togetherness and closeness is recreated and relations of affection are reaffirmed, despite the geographical separation (Zontini, 2004). However, it is important not to romanticise family relations; the picture emerging from the interviews was one of struggle to establish regularity in anchoring routines and the sense that people could not keep relationships going the way they desired, the rest of the chapter focused on this dynamic. I have stressed that practical and financial constraints frame what is possible to accomplish in terms of levels of support and connection. To further explore the struggle to continue family relations I considered the moral basis to relational anchoring. I emphasised how the morality of care – a sense of shared responsibility based on reciprocity – needs to be worked out in practice and is highly gendered. Acceptance that sons may become more focused on their wife/*conviviente* and children, relinquishing support to parents and siblings, is contrasted with an embedded notion of the availability and reliability of daughters. I argued that the working out of the morality of care (in terms of providing support and care) is marked by ambiguity and tension due to the competing demands from anchoring to kin and to one’s immediate family in a context of limited and stretched material resources. I emphasised the continuing ‘moral sway’ of anchoring to kin relations. Withdrawal from responsibilities, related on one level to class difference and a perceived conscious evasion of responsibility and on another to a ‘forced isolation’ due to economic poverty, further reveals how the morality of care is not set in stone. As Felix’s case started to show, the unfolding of relationships reveal underlying relational conflict and tensions in his mobility experiences. The next chapter continues to explore how relational anchoring is central to wellbeing through a focus on emotions in experiences of mobility.

Chapter 8 The dynamics of sorrowing [*pena*] and the relational context of mobility

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I turn to consider the emotions and feelings associated with experiences of mobility. Chapter two identified emotion and affect as a central aspect of (international) mobility (Conradson and McKay, 2007) and as inseparable from understanding the nature of transnational families (Skrbiš, 2008). The understanding of emotion taken here is a psycho-social and cultural one rather than cognitive. As Svašek (2010: 867) argues, emotional processes “do not take place in the isolated minds/bodies of migrants, but arise in the interaction of individuals with their human and non-human surroundings”. The psycho-social perspective asserts that “human beings are not independent individuals but societal persons whose inner worlds and social environments influence each other” (Dona, 2010: 9). Emotions are essentially about interactions and relationships with people, intertwining our lives with others, they are essentially social (Haidt, 2006). As such, emotions are culturally constructed and culturally specific. In the interviews people frame mobility experiences and the sense of disruption that this entails in strong emotional terms, in particular through having *pena* [a state of extreme sadness or sorrow], shock and crying, and later becoming *tranquilo* [feeling contented, tranquil] and getting accustomed and adjusted [*acostumbrar*] to separation and change. The contrasting emotions of *pena* and *tranquilo* can be understood as reflective of senses of wellbeing. This chapter focuses on exploring the dynamics of *pena* in experiences of mobility and in doing so seeks to show how relationships are central to senses of wellbeing. I argue that *pena* is reflective of a disruption to relational anchoring and conveys the socio-cultural meaning of separation and living apart from kin. *Pena* motivates connection with family, in particular through ‘knowing’ (phone calls, hearing news) and being physically together *pena* subsides. I then consider narratives of a continuing and enduring *pena* and isolation. The remainder of the chapter explores the relational anchoring imagery behind these narratives which are predominantly female narratives. I seek to draw out the significance and role of the relational circumstances of mobility in shaping experiences. In particular I point to how memories, past experiences and relationships influence current

emotions and perceptions of current wellbeing (Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008). I argue that sentiments of abandonment and isolation express a lack of relational anchoring in a core set of relations which is conveyed as a lack of love, *cariño*, emotional closeness and attachment due to ‘not growing up together’ or ‘not being raised together’ with their parents and siblings. These notions of abandonment are embedded in a socio-cultural context of the normality and routineness of practices of parent-child separation, ‘child-giving’ and the insitutionalisation of domestic service. I then explore how interviewees search a sense of anchoring through seeking to gain affection in the relational settings they move to. I point to the ambiguity of these living situations or relational settings. I finally show how the emotion of *pena* cannot be divorced from the socio-economic conditions in which people live.

8.2 Shock and *pena* as a disruption to relational anchoring

Mobility entails emotional disruptions (Huang and Yeoh, 2007; Mai and King, 2009). The sense of emotional disruption associated with mobility and spatial separation from family was repeatedly expressed in the interviews as having *pena* [extreme sadness or sorrow] and the related emotion of shock [‘*me asuste*’ or ‘*me chocó*’]. Feelings of shock are in part triggered by changes in routines and life-styles, particularly the changes in climate, environment and food associated with mobility across the geographical landscapes of coast, *sierra*, and *selva* and between contrasting rural and urban environments. Filomena (E44, 45 years old) recalls the shock and disruption she felt when she moved to Lima to join her family and to work, “I’d never worked in a business, in a home before and these things shocked me, it was shocking [*chocante*] for me”. Filomena has lived in Lima for 16 years but does not return to Cerro de Pasco, her origin, because now everything there shocks her, she views the food and climate as causing her harm. Changes in climate and food are linked with causing illness and lethargy (Skar, 1994). In the Peruvian Andes, Skar finds among villagers of Matapuquio, views of wellbeing and health imply “harmonious relationships between the physical, spiritual, and social worlds of each individual” (1994: 89). Movement away from the village and the disorientation and sense of imbalance that accompanies this, is linked to the “separating out of these otherwise integrated

spheres of life” (Skar, 1994: 89)⁹⁴. Feelings of shock reflect this disorientation and state of imbalance. Comparable emotional conditions or ‘culture-bound syndromes’ (for example, *pena*, *susto*, *nervios/nervosa* [nerves]) relating to disruptions in life have been found to be widespread in other Latin American countries (Low, 1985) including Ecuador (Miles, 1997; Pribilsky, 2001; Tousignant and Maldonado, 1989), Bolivia (Van Vleet, 2008), Brazil and Mexico (Scheper-Hughes, 2008).

In the interviews *pena* is particularly expressive of a sense of disruption within the social landscape, both for those who move and for those who are left behind. It reflects a sense of disruption to relational anchoring. When a family member leaves, especially children, parents emphasise the vacuum and void created by their absence in the home and a feeling of emptiness. For some residents in rural and peri-urban areas, feelings of *pena* were too strong to leave family and prevented movement. Antonio (A19, 30 years old) explains how *pena* to leave his parents has led him to stay in Alegria:

“as my family, my father and my mother are here, it made me sad [*me da pena*] to leave them. I prefer to be together with them [*estar juntos*], to see them always”.

Clara’s (E34, 32 years old) case reveals that family do not need to be separated by vast distances to experience *pena*. Clara was raised by her maternal grandparents in Chosica (rural), a nearby district of the Lima highlands. Clara’s mother worked in Lima returning to see her children only on Sundays. When Clara went to live with her mother in Esperanza at the age of 20, she explains “it hurt me a lot, a lot, I started to cry, I didn’t want to be here”. Clara’s *abuela* [grandmother] ‘had *pena*’: “it shocked her [*chocó*], she shut herself in, she didn’t want to eat anything, she was in shock for almost a month”. *Pena* is a ‘language of distress’ (Low, 1985 in Greenway, 1998: 997) and conveys not only the emotional but also the socio-cultural meaning of a ‘state of apartness’, separation and loneliness (Leinaweaver, 2008a; Skar, 1994). Leinaweaver (2008a: 74) portrays the socio-cultural meaning of living apart from kin through drawing on a *Huayno*⁹⁵ song from Ayacucho ‘Little Orphan Bird’ where the orphan represents a young person

⁹⁴ See also Greenway’s (1998) discussion of the emotion of *susto*, an illness caused by fright, in the Peruvian Andes.

⁹⁵ *Huayno* refers to a form of Andean music, particularly popular among Andean peasants and urban migrants (Paerregaard 1997).

who has travelled far away and whose parents mourn his absence. In the Bolivian village of Sullk'ata, Van Vleet (2008: 82) identifies three conventional contexts of sorrowing which all relate to changes in states of relationships: a loved one's death, migration (when children or spouse are living far away – when a loved one leaves) and a daughter's marriage. Van Vleet points to the socio-cultural meaning of aloneness and being apart from kin when newly married women cry about being alone even though they are living with their husband and in-laws.

Following several years of living away they continue to cry about being alone, saying 'I have no mother or father', whether their parents are alive or not (Van Vleet 2008: 90). Van Vleet explains this aloneness and sorrow as being because the married woman has no close kin, no 'true kin'⁹⁶ [*parientes legítimos*] in her husband's community; she is away from the network of kin with whom she grew up (p.173). Miles' (1997) research reveals that for women living in the southern Ecuadorian highlands with husbands who have emigrated to the United States, *pena* expressed their isolation, loneliness and extreme discomfort:

“One of the most common manifestations of women's isolation and the way in which they express their emotions is through the condition of *pena*” (p.66).

Also in the Ecuador context, Pribilsky (2001) finds the related condition of *nervios* to be prevalent among children in the southern Ecuadorian Andes when their fathers migrate to the United States. Pribilsky (2001: 263-4) identifies *nervios*⁹⁷ [nerves] as a culturally specific depression-like disorder which comes about with the onset of stress and suffering brought on by loss of physical and emotional wellbeing. *Nervios* is similarly linked to disruptions in social relationships and being abandoned [*abandonado*] by their fathers. The symptoms of *nervios* include extreme sadness [*pena*], heartache [*dolor de corazón*], and anger (Pribilsky, 2001: 252).

Although *pena* is an emotion expressed by men and women, when talking about a family member moving away, people often commented: “above all my mother cries a lot” or “above all my wife was very sad”, “my wife cried a lot, she was always sad [with *pena*]”, suggesting the ‘naturalness’ of this feeling of

⁹⁶ True kin refers to the closeness of kinship relationship traced through one's own parents or siblings (ibid).

⁹⁷ In Costa Rica, Low (1985: 187, 191) argues that *nervios* is viewed as a culturally accepted way of presenting psychosocial distress.

mothers towards their children: A resident of Lejano comments about her brother's move to Lima four years ago: "Above all my mother, even now she has a lot of sadness [*pena*], I think like any mother, no?" (L19, female, 18 years old).

Miles (1997: 66) argues that through suffering from *pena* a woman

"demonstrates to her family and acquaintances that she has the depth of moral character to be deeply affected by events around her. She is perceived as a caring and humane woman precisely because events around her can affect her so completely".

Expressing *pena* shows a mother is concerned and worried for her child or children, that she cares and loves them. In this way *pena* is a moral condition, an expected emotional performance, what mothers should express and display to show that a child's absence affects them.

Pena is also a physical condition; it is understood to affect physical wellbeing, to cause physical illness (Escandell and Tapias, 2010; Miles, 1997; Tousignant and Maldonado, 1989). Tiredness, loss of weight, loss of appetite, sleeping disturbances, vomiting, and heart pain are all symptoms attributed to *pena* (Tousignant and Maldonado, 1989). In the interviews, loss of appetite, sleep disturbances, heart pain, and headaches were all associated with *pena*. As Florentino (P2, 54 years old) explains when his daughter moved to Lima from Progreso to work in domestic service, his *pena*, shock, and worry caused him to have a brain haemorrhage [*derrame cerebral*]. However, it is unclear whether he suffered a medical haemorrhage or if he was expressing an acute headache as a consequence of his *pena*. Low (1985: 190), in her cross-cultural review of nerves, found in Costa Rica *derrame de cerebro* to be linked to family worries and symptoms of headache, dizziness, crying and temporary blindness. Miles similarly details the physical illnesses that *pena* is thought to cause in urban Ecuador

"the symptoms of *pena* can range from psychological depression to physical illness that is usually characterised by diffuse symptoms such as headache, sleeplessness, and in Cuenca, 'aching' livers or kidneys" (1997: 66).

Chapter six argued that mobility has become routine in the search to get ahead [*salir adelante*]. To some extent *pena* is considered an inevitable and

necessary trade-off in order to get ahead (cf. Leinaweaver, 2008). This reflects the ‘emotional ambivalence’ of movement (Boehm, 2011), the desire to get ahead that leads to mobility inevitably also entails separation and *pena*. Viviana (L2, 51 years old) expresses this emotional ambivalence, how she felt both *pena* and contentment about her oldest son living in Lima “I had much sadness [*pena*], but also I felt content because he was going to *superarse* and to study”. Many spoke of becoming accustomed or adjusted [*acostumbrar*] to living apart, a re-balancing, which seemed to express a reluctant acceptance of separation and the loneliness it entails. Material improvements play a role in offsetting *pena*, an emotional trade-off for material gain. As one mother in Lejano comments about her four children living in Lima:

“maybe before I was better when having all of my children together, it’s to say in the emotional aspect I felt tranquil and happy. But also now I’m happy ... and I’m much better than before my children went [away]”

(Researcher): “Why”

“to have support from my children, financially”.

(L12, female, 46 years old)

Tranquilo is a contrasting emotion to *pena*. Low (1985: 190) defines *tranquilo* as being tranquil or calm. *Tranquilo* refers to a state of peacefulness (peace of mind), calmness, a feeling of contentment, ‘being well’ and being without problems. *Tranquilo* can be interpreted as a person’s “appraisal of the quality of their lives” (Camfield *et al*, 2007: 73 citing Uchida *et al*, 2004), it expresses a sense of wellbeing attainment. People talk about ‘being *tranquilo*’ in an economic sense in terms of being without financial problems, having a job, sufficient money to get by, having a home and becoming established. *Tranquilo* also expresses psychologically or emotionally a feeling of contentment, “that elusive but still real psychological state of feeling ‘in sync with’ oneself given external conditions” (Hedetoft, 2002: 19). The transition from *pena* to *tranquilo* happens through relationships, through connection with significant others. Thus, a further dimension of *pena* relates to what the expression of *pena* accomplishes.

8.3 Pena motivates connection

Svašek (2010: 866) emphasises how emotional interactions occur in a field of kin relations in which different actors attempt to influence each other's feelings, "demonstrating that emotional processes are often central to sociality". In Baldassar's (2008: 263) study, the emotions of 'missing and longing' are not only located in the person but have a social outcome through the need for co-presence, "hence they are socially located and have a social aim", they are located in "the social situation and interaction which they help construct". Van Vleet (2008: 81) argues that sorrowing is a performance that "enacts connection", "as much as sorrowing marks disconnection among Sullk'atas, evoking sorrow is also a means of establishing care between people" (Van Vleet, 2008: 92). *Pena* and worry [*preocupación*] are intimately linked and motivate connection through phone calls and visits. 'Knowing' that loved ones are well not only physically but also in a material sense (with a job, a home) and relationally (not being alone) alleviates *pena* and worry. One mother in Descanso (D16, 44 years old) explains how her *pena* about her daughters going to Italy subsided through knowing: "we had *pena*, we missed them ... when they went we all cried, it shocked us a lot", but that now "when we found out that our daughters are ok, it gave us tranquillity, they seemed ok, both of them together". Filomena (E44) comments "you feel more *tranquilo* in yourself knowing that your family is well [*bien*]". Bertha (E13, 65 years old) is particularly close to her maternal uncle who still lives in her village of origin in Junin, she calls him dad, or her '*tio papa*'. Bertha shows how *pena* can appear in dreams and motivates connection:

"sometimes in his dreams he thinks about me, me as well, sometimes I call him by surprise, he says to me 'daughter [*hijita*] how are you? I'm well dad I say, and you, how are you?' [he says] 'I dreamt about you, you were sad [*con pena*]' he tells me, no dad, I'm well I tell him... he misses me a lot, a lot".

When communicating by telephone with her *tio papa* Bertha feels *tranquila*. Also, receiving news from her sister, who lives in Santa Anita, Lima, about her *tio papa* eases her *pena*:

“I feel *tranquila*, sometimes my sister arrives with the news that she went to Junin and he’s [her *tio papa*] *tranquilo*,...and it alleviates me a lot, it relieves me”.

Pena is also alleviated by being physically together. Marcelina (L7, 57 years old) explains how her *pena* draws her to visit her children in Huancayo and Lima:

“I need to see my children and my grandchildren, without seeing them I’m worried, and with much sorrow, thinking that they are unwell”.

Pena also draws people to live together again. Benita (E40, 35 years old) brought her father to live with her in Esperanza because “when you’re far away you’re not going to know how they are, when you are together you are *tranquilo*”. These interactions between family members (phone calls and being physically together) help them to navigate difficult and uncertain moments (Auyero and Swistun, 2008). These routines of interaction, which I identified as ‘anchoring routines’ in the previous chapter, appear to have an ordering effect “they orient and stimulate action and have a comforting, almost soothing effect” (Auyero and Swistun, 2008: 369). However, the previous chapter focused on the struggles and constraints entailed in establishing anchoring routines with family living apart. *Pena* can be accentuated in situations where people cannot maintain relations as they desire, when they have difficulties reinstating relationships and cannot fulfil ones duties due to a lack of material resources or practical constraints. *Pena* occurs in situations where people “fall outside expected relations of reciprocity or in situations where they are prevented from reciprocating” (Pribilsky, 2001: 268; see also Tousignant and Maldonado, 1989). In these circumstances *pena* signifies the danger of rupture and disconnection.

Pena also evokes collective response. Tousignant and Maldonado (1989: 899) find in Ecuador that victims of *pena* attract attention from others; *pena* encourages people to improve relationships with the social network and family. Bertha (E13, 65 years old) shows how expressing *pena* evokes collective response, mobilises her family to draw around her, to help her to overcome her *pena*. Bertha lives with her son in Esperanza and explains:

“My son [says] lets go, lets go, you’re sad [*con pena*], lets go, go to Junin [her place of origin], take this money and go to Junin ... they [her children] look after me, ‘mum you have *pena*, you have *pena* about your house, your uncle, the cemetery, go!’”.

Bertha's son acts to try to overcome her *pena* by giving her money to travel back to her *pueblo*, when returning back to Lima she feels happier and more content in herself. This also shows that emotions of *pena* are recurrent and ongoing which serves to motivate continued connection.

People also express concern about how their own sorrow and suffering can affect others. This can lead to information being concealed from one another. When Samuel (E4, 47 years old) first moved to Esperanza he decided not to tell his family where he was, his reason being that he was suffering, living in poverty, and he did not want to worry them. Sorrow and worry are considered causes of physical illnesses. Similarly, Escandell and Tapias (2010: 408) find that Bolivian migrants in Spain engage in 'protective' practices, concealing their suffering and sorrow in order to prevent worry and consequent ill health among their loved ones. Some also express concern about how their own sorrow could lead to problems, illnesses or cause harm to those who have moved away. For example, one mother in Lejano (L12, 46 years old) comments about her daughter moving to Lima "I had *pena*, I cried so much when she left, because of this I believe I cursed her because my daughter fell very ill at this time". Another mother explains how, when she was feeling *pena* others around her warned how her *pena* could affect her daughter: "when you cry she's not going to get work" (A7, 40 years old). This further displays the social nature of the emotion of *pena*.

I have identified *pena* and the contrasting emotion of *tranquilo/a* [being tranquil/content] as reflective of senses of wellbeing. These emotions are not isolated in the minds and bodies of individuals (Svašek, 2010) but are inherently relational, they reflect states of relationships and affect relationships with significant others. Sorrow and shock are expressions of the disruption associated with mobility and being apart from family. *Pena* is socially located, it has a social outcome. *Pena* motivates and enacts connection through phone calls and 'being together'. Through 'knowing' relatives are well, sorrow and worry give way to a feeling of contentment. This can also lead to concealment of information in order to protect others. Some Esperanza narratives reveal a more enduring *pena*, a continuing loneliness, sadness, depression and isolation and are predominantly female narratives. The remaining sections of the chapter turn to consider the circumstances in which *pena* remains and the relational anchoring imagery behind this. In exploring the relational circumstances surrounding mobility in these

narratives I show how relational anchoring is central to wellbeing in contexts of mobility.

8.4 Enduring *pena*, abandonment and isolation

8.4.1 Sentiments of abandonment

The sentiment of enduring *pena* expresses a deep sense of emotional pain and upset and is related to fragility and rupture in close kin relations, particularly with mothers and fathers. Several scholars have identified family problems, conflict, parental neglect and abandonment, and generally poor relationships as being a cause of sorrow and nerves (Low, 1985; Pribilsky, 2001; Tousignant and Maldonado, 1989). In order to understand enduring *pena* it is necessary to consider how memories, past experiences and relationships, especially with close family members, influence current emotions and perceptions of current wellbeing (Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008). The origins of enduring *pena* and distress are located in adverse and difficult life events and circumstances which are not always directly linked to mobility (Leavey *et al.*, 2007). These difficult life events are largely relational. Fractured kin relations and a lack of anchoring relationally prior to mobility or surrounding mobility are important in shaping experiences of mobility. This compares with Sorensen and Guarnizo's (2007) study of Colombian and Dominican migrants in Europe. They argue that fractured family relations tended to precede rather than result from female migration and emphasise that it is the conditions under which migration takes place, rather than the migration act itself which determines migration experience. Enduring *pena* is directly related to sentiments of abandonment by a parent or both parents during childhood and youth. Where I use the term abandonment here it reflects the use of the term by respondents themselves. Interviewees spoke of being abandoned [*me abandonó*] or left [*me dejó*] by a parent or both parents.

Abandonment by fathers was spoken about in terms of a father leaving their mother during pregnancy or shortly after birth. Some fathers had dual or parallel families, which are not uncommon in Peru (Mitchell, 2006). Edith (E20, 28 years old) was born in a village in Cerro de Pasco (*sierra*). Her father left her mother when she was pregnant with her, he was of a higher socio-economic standing and had another family, he never returned. Following her birth, Edith's

mother ‘handed her over’ to her maternal grandmother. Edith met her father when five years old but has not seen him again and has received no financial support from him. Her cycle of mobility started at the age of eight years old when she went to live with an aunt and uncle in Huancayo. Felix (E1) was born in Cañete (coast, south of Lima), his parents both originated from the *sierra* (Huaraz and Ayacucho). He was ‘abandoned’ first by his father and later by his step-father, the knock-on effect of this was that he needed to work from an early age to support the household, as detailed in chapter six (section 6.4), he comments he was like “a second household head”. This reflects a socio-cultural pattern of children’s early participation in family economic strategies, from an early age children are expected to be hardworking, contributing to the household income, and have various household and work-related tasks (Anderson, 2007a). However, Felix expresses that he was a ‘nurturing’ rather than ‘nurtured’ child (Hecht, 1998 in Goldstein, 2003): “I was looking out for my siblings ... I watched out for them but who was looking out for me?”. In other cases fathers abandoned their children following the death of the child’s mother, often in childbirth. Sentiments of abandonment were also expressed in contexts of domestic violence or intra-family violence, abuse, maltreatment, neglect, and alcoholism. Peru has extremely high rates of domestic violence in comparison with other countries (Boesten, 2006). An estimated 41% of Peruvian women have been beaten at least once in their life by their partners (Boesten, 2006: 356). Violence is the most evident expression of *machismo* (Nencel, 1996). Rufina (E37, 30 years old) recalls how when a neighbour tried to intervene when her father had beaten her mother, her father told the neighbour not to interfere saying “I’m a man, because I’m a man I beat my wife”. The highland love [*el amor serrano*] saying “the more you beat me, the more I love you” [*“más me pegas, más te quiero”*] relates to imagining that violence in intimate relationships is natural, a part of indigenous women’s culture (Alcalde, 2006: 156). Interviewees frequently connected their father’s violence with alcoholism, “my father was an alcoholic and beat my mum” (Eva, E42, 37 years old) which again normalises violence. As Van Vleet (2002; 2008) argues, in the Bolivian Andes, domestic violence is normalised through discourses of drunkenness and custom. Several interviewees, males and females, mentioned punishment and physical abuse from their fathers and step-fathers, one mentioned physical abuse by a mother. Physical punishment of children by parents is

widespread; more than one third of the Peruvian population beat their children as a way of disciplining them (Dughi, 2002, cited in Ames and Rojas, 2009: 14). Violence in the home compels children to leave the household and go to live with others.

Abandonment by mothers was less common in the interviews. Where mothers were absent, this was most commonly because of a mother's death, often in child birth. Eva (E42, 37 years old) was the only interviewee to mention physical abuse by a biological mother. Eva was born in Cerro de Pasco, her father was an alcoholic and was violent towards her mother; he left them when she was two years old. Eva subsequently suffered physical abuse and neglect in her childhood from her mother, "I was scared to be with my mum". Eva cried in the interview as she vividly recalled episodes from her childhood when she and her brother were beaten by their mother. This poor treatment from her mother led to her *nervios* [nerves]. Eva details how when she was five years old:

Eva: I was already ill with *nervios* and stomach ache... I didn't have an appetite

Researcher: why? because of sadness?

Eva: yes, I didn't eat ... I was doubled over with stomach pains ... I wanted to die, I didn't want (to live) [crying].

Eva frames her moves since the age of seven as an escape from her mother and her beatings. In other cases where people felt abandoned by their mothers, the circumstances reveal the conflicting burdens that mothers experience. Following a father's abandonment, often when mothers embarked on a new relationship [*compromiso*] the stepfather did not want to take on the child, or in cases where they did, conflict ensued resulting in the child going to live with other relatives, often the mother's mother. Several Peruvian studies have noted that it is a common practice that when a mother starts a new relationship her children are taken in by other relatives (Bourque and Warren, 1981; Deere, 1990). Several of the women interviewed went on to leave their own children with their mothers when they started new relationships despite their own difficult experiences of being left as children which also suggests a socio-cultural context of the habitualness of this practice. A further sentiment of abandonment is when a mother leaves the household to work away to provide for her children, particularly in the absence of a male partner, leaving children in the care of other relatives,

again often with their mother (the child's maternal grandmother). Although I lack the perspective of the parents of the interviewees who they felt abandoned by, several of the mothers who had left their children with other relatives in order to work away express the conflicting burdens they experienced. Vilma (E30, 39 years old) left her children with her mother-in-law in Lima whilst she worked away in another district of Lima as a live-in domestic worker:

“It's because my daughters' father at this time was, he was not at all responsible, he didn't help me with anything ... I had to be father and mother even though I had a man in my home. I was living with my mother-in-law so out of necessity I left to go to work, ... if I had been at their side, they would have been dying of hunger, of thirst, without clothes. I was working and they had their toys, their things, their studies, they never lacked anything. ... It's not that I wanted to leave them,... it was necessity that forced me to go”.

Vilma's need to provide for her children economically conflicted with her desire to be together with her children, providing emotional support and caring for them, creating a “tension within motherhood” (Contreras and Griffith, 2012: 62). This conveys the “inherent contradiction of leaving a family to support a family” (Contreras and Griffith, 2012: 51). Vilma continues:

“I think that a mother must always be with her children, I always also I've wanted that for my children but ... because of this my daughters complain to me saying ‘you've not raised us’ ”.

8.4.2 Practices of ‘child-giving’ and the ‘*sistema de tias*’ [system of aunts]

The above has already started to indicate the habitualness, normality and routineness of the practices behind these experiences of abandonment, for example, practices of children's early participation in family livelihood strategies. The practices behind patterns of abandonment are also clearly gendered, it being more commonly fathers who ‘abandon’ children for example through having dual families and leaving the household. Experiences of abandonment also occur in a context of the normality and routineness of ‘child-giving’ or ‘child-circulation’ (Leinaweaver, 2008a). As some of the cases mentioned above have shown, children were not ‘left abandoned’, but were sent to live in other homes, ‘taken in’

or ‘handed over’ to other relatives, being raised by others, most commonly by grandparents or aunts/uncles. Adoption, fosterage, and multiple parents are widespread and deeply rooted practices in the rural Andes (Anderson *et al*, 2006; Deere, 1990; Leinaweaver, 2008a; Weismantel, 2001; see Gill, 1994 for similar practices in Bolivia). Carrasco (2010: 201-202) points to the cultural legitimacy of patterns of ‘collective motherhood’ in Peru. It is important not to reinforce a western, Eurocentric view, an “image of a nuclear heteronormative family as a hegemonic feature of society” (Åkesson *et al*, 2012: 241) and to recognise a diversity of mothering/parenting ideologies and experiences including the normality of parent-child separation. The ways in which interviewees talked about moving to other homes also points to the routineness and normality of these practices of parent-child separation and ‘child-giving’, for example, being given or taken ‘like a package’ [*encomienda*] or a gift. Lucia (E3, 35 years old) detailed when her aunt returned to their village in Cusco, “the mums said to her ‘take my child’ [to Lima]”. When asked why, Lucia explained

“well... in Cusco they sent them like this because they had many little children, well, they have seven or eight children and they can’t support them so ‘you take one’ they said, and she brought them. They ask the *tia* to take them as if they were a package, they brought me like this too”.

Practices of sending children to live in other homes have occurred in the context of poverty and insecurity. Material hardships and insecurity impact on family life (Boyden and Cooper, 2007). Anderson *et al* (2006: 7) use the term ‘structurally vulnerable families’ to show how families are forced to make changes in their livelihood strategies in the context of crises or vulnerability factors, including poverty, unemployment, harvest failure, debts, demand for cash, and health problems. These crises act as triggers leading families to make adjustments including separation of family members and mobility. As Nicolas (E29, 38 years old) explains

“they bring people from the provinces to work, they make them work... and they give them their education, no? as compensation they give them their education. Parents ask them to take their children, ‘I have so many small children, ... I can’t support them because sometimes it doesn’t rain, no? or the frost destroys the harvest, I can’t sustain my family, let’s see if you could take her, if you could give her an education’ ”.

This shows how practices of child-giving are embedded in the idiom of getting ahead, as being viewed positively by parents as a route for children to gain an education.

Narratives of enduring sorrow were predominantly female narratives. Part of the difference could be explained by men being less conditioned to express emotion in this way. For example, Baldassar (2008: 259) found that men's 'longing' and depth of emotion often went unspoken in the interviews. As Svašek (2008: 219) argues

"emotional discourses and practices are strongly shaped by ethnicity, class, gender and other influences. Individuals express specific emotions in group-specific ways or suppress them altogether when deeming them situationally inappropriate".

Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke (2008: 784) argue that gender ideologies

"permeate the way in which individuals perceive, articulate, and make sense of their lives Some of the male informants tended to be less prepared to discuss their life experiences, other than those associated with work".

As already noted in the methods chapter men tended to be less open and willing to discuss their experiences in the interviews. Although some males did express an enduring *pena*, in other cases where males appeared to have difficult childhoods, they tended to emphasise being independent and 'free' from an early age without detailing the emotional impact. However the gender difference in narratives of abandonment and enduring *pena* reflects more than this. Practices of child-giving are structured by the institutionalisation of domestic service in Peruvian society. Chapter six pointed to the routineness of mobility for domestic service, especially for females, and argued that using children as domestic labour by distant relatives or fictive kin has been a common, deeply rooted and historical practice (Ennew, 1986; Anderson *et al*, 2006; Deere, 1990; Leinaweaver, 2008a). A common thread running through female narratives of enduring *pena* is a structuring of their mobilities through domestic service. Domestic service is a race and class as well as a gender issue (Sweetman, 2011); it is females of indigenous origin, from poor families who take up positions in domestic service in often wealthier homes, as will be shown below. Further evidence of the way in which child-giving and domestic service is routinised and customary is through the '*sistema de tias*'

[system of aunts]. Lucia's (E3) quote above reveals a common pattern of children going to live with an aunt⁹⁸ (as shown also in chapter six, section 6.2.3).

Anderson *et al* (2006) have introduced the notion of the '*sistema de tias*' to show how networks of *tias* have become institutionalised in child domestic labour. They studied child labour and the networks linking Lima, the coast (Cañete, Ica, Imperial), the *sierra* (Yauyos and Huancayo) and the central *selva* (Pangoa). The prominence of the category of '*tia*' between those who employed workers and the children themselves led some specialists in the field to talk about the existence of a '*sistema de tias*', a system of labour exploitation. One specialist interviewed in the project who worked with child domestic workers explained:

“we know there's a *sistema de tias* – from the *tia*'s place of origin in the province, nieces arrive to the *tias* house where they are trained, doing domestic work with the *tia*. Later on, the *tia* places her in different houses in the area ... these are networks, real networks, already constructed”
(Anderson *et al*, 2006: 32).

The interviews provide evidence of the penetration of this *sistema de tias* as a system of labour exploitation, often children are not given the opportunity to go to school.

“They bring the poor girls deceiving them ... and they force them to work, a job that's not good for the girl, ... they take advantage of them. My neighbour here brings the girls ... as house workers, they help her, after a week or a month like this, they pass them onto another job... They don't let them study, they take them to another job” (Pablo, E49, 69 years old)

Similar to Anderson *et al* (2006), I found that the *tia* was not always a 'true' *tia*, a parent's sibling, but a more distant relative e.g. a parent's cousin, or a fellow *paisana* known in the rural community, in some cases the precise relation of the '*tia*' was not clear⁹⁹. The *sistema de tias* can be considered a form of trafficking for labour exploitation yet does not appear to be recognised by parents as such which I feel is a further display of how customary and routine these practices are¹⁰⁰. As Bastia (2005: 60) argues, these forms of trafficking are emedded in

⁹⁸ It is also important to note that *tios* [uncles] were sometimes the links as well as aunts.

⁹⁹ I will discuss the use of '*tia*' as creating 'family-like' relations in section 8.6 of the chapter.

¹⁰⁰ An interesting finding in responses to the first dilemma in mobility scenarios relating to domestic service is that the majority of responses (62.5%) felt that the child should remain with their parents until they are 18 years old when they would be better able to take care of themselves.

customary forms of patronage. As stated in chapter six, all the ‘recruiters’ mentioned in the interviews were known to the families of the children and young people who moved. The personal nature of these relations seems to further obscure the *sistema de tias* as a form of trafficking and actually raises the question as to whether the sending of children to distant relatives or *pasisanas* for labour exploitation should be recognised as a form of trafficking or not (cf. Bastia, 2005)¹⁰¹. I also found it sometimes unclear in the narratives if the living situation was actually one of domestic service or whether the person was just living together with relatives, it was sometimes unclear what the precise terms or nature of incorporation into the household actually were. This is partly related to the ‘family appropriate’ terms which are used when detailing the domestic service setting which also naturalise and normalise the practice. As seen in chapter six, few interviewees spoke of domestic work as *working* instead saying that they *helped* in the home or with the business¹⁰². There was also ambiguity around whether or not payment was received for their ‘help’. Some did not mention any form of payment, just that they ‘went to live’ with a relative. Others received a payment but often did not refer to it as money or a salary. Sofia (E17) merely states “My *tia* gave me a roof, food, and sometimes for my expenses”. Often the word *propina* [‘tip’] was used which, as Leinaweaver (2008a) argues, conveys the work and payment as a voluntary contribution. The *propina* is “another marker distinguishing the relationship from one of labour and pointing it towards kinship” (Leinaweaver, 2008a: 92), it is appropriate in the context of a home and interpersonal relationships (Young, 1987). The ‘blurriness’ in these work and living situations further conveys the normality and routineness of these practices. Section 8.6 will explore further the ambiguous nature of these personal relations. In addition to moving with *tias*, a further pattern found in the interviews was of primary school teachers taking pupils to ‘help’ in their homes, to look after a baby, or to help in the school vacations. Isabel (E39) details the case of a young

This raises the question of the extent to which people’s own difficult experiences of child/youth mobility, child-giving and domestic work lead people to reflect on and question the acceptability of these practices, and also the extent to which these experiences feedback to the villages or places of origin and alter such practices.

¹⁰¹ Bastia (2005: 80) questions whether the concept of ‘child trafficking’ is the most appropriate one for describing or addressing a phenomenon that she argues is essentially teenage labour migration.

¹⁰² Leinaweaver (2008a) also identifies ‘accompanying’ [*acompañar*] those who they are living with which suggests companionship.

girl who was brought to Lima at the age of seven by a teacher who was working in her *pueblo* “supposedly she was a good teacher, no?”, the teacher had said to the child’s parents “I’m going to take her ... I’m going to send her to school, don’t worry”. But the teacher “cheated them”, the girl worked in the teacher’s house and did not attend school, the teacher also physically abused her.

The expression of giving a child ‘like a gift’ or ‘package’, being sent by parents to other homes, implies that in these situations children are passive. Similarly the *sistema de tias* implies that children and young people are coerced into domestic labour. However it is important to recognise that the *sistema de tias* and domestic labour can offer an escape route from violent and abusive home situations (cf. Anderson *et al*, 2006), and this again raises questions as to whether the *sistema de tias* should be viewed as a form of trafficking. Lucia (E3, 35 years old) and Eva (E42, 37 years old) both spoke of wanting and asking to leave their village at a very young age. Lucia recalls how she wanted to escape from her father. “I didn’t want to be [there], he used to beat me so much”. When a *tio* returned to the village (Cusco), she said “let’s go, let’s go”. Lucia legitimated the move in her father’s eyes by saying that she was going to study:

“my dad accepted, because I said I’m going to study and so my dad accepted this, I was also content that I was not going to be there, and so I went to Cusco, working hard with my uncle”.

Lucia rotated around various *tias* and *tios* firstly in Cusco and then in Lima, some of whom were *paisanos* (from her village in Cusco) and more distant relatives. Eva similarly sought to escape from the physical abuse and maltreatment from her mother from the age of five. When her *madrina* was visiting Eva’s *pueblo* in Cerro de Pasco Eva begged her to take her back to Lima¹⁰³:

“I clung onto her, because, like I said, I didn’t like that my mum hit me, she used to hit me really hard ... *Madrina*, don’t leave me, don’t leave me [crying], let’s go, my mum beats me, let’s go”.

Although it is important to note that how the move is recalled might not be exactly as it happened because of the desperation to leave the situation, for example, there may have been greater involvement of parents. However, the degree of agency

¹⁰³ Eva was one of the few who mentioned moving to a Godparent.

that interviewees felt they had in these moves as children, recalling a desire to go and involvement in the decision to move seems significant.

I have found the work of Auyero and Swistun (2008) useful here in interpreting these narratives of enduring *pena*. In their research on environmental pollution and contamination in an Argentine shantytown, the authors found that “uninterrupted routines and interactions worked smoothly as blinders to increasing environmental hazards” (p.360). In a similar way, the routineness and normality of practices of child-giving especially for domestic service through the institutionalised system of aunts, along with the routineness of mobility in the search to get ahead, seems to have blinded and obscured the potential hazards, risks and harm that such practices can entail for some. Bastia (2005: 61-62) reports on a study of child trafficking in Bolivia which finds that

“the parents who give their children away often do so in good faith, thinking that they are providing the child with better opportunities and suggests that they do not seem to be aware of the situations of vulnerability they are placing their child in or the extremely exploitative working conditions these children often have to endure”

Anderson *et al* (2006) similarly point to the *naturalisation* of child domestic labour (CDL):

“it is customary, normal, ‘convenient’ and meets little resistance. It is naturalised as a stage and dimension of life, mainly for women from poor backgrounds... CDL becomes permissible and finds almost no objection” (Anderson *et al*, 2006: 11-12).

Domestic work is so institutionalised that it is incorporated into a parents’ cultural repertoire (Anderson, 2006, personal communication). The socio-cultural context of the acceptability and ‘routinisation’ of child mobility and ‘child-giving’ mean that such practices are largely unquestioned by parents and do not require much explanation or justification (cf. Åkesson *et al*, 2012). However, in narratives of an enduring *pena*, the routineness and normality of ‘child-giving’ and parent-child separation does appear to have obscured the potential harm that such practices can bring for some, having an impact on a person’s wellbeing (emotional, material and relational) throughout life. This is particularly the case when the relational context of mobility is one of fractured and strained relationships. The next two sections explore these harms and impacts.

8.5 A lack of relational anchoring

As I have already stated, memories, past experiences and relationships influence current emotions and perceptions of current wellbeing (Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008). Narratives of enduring *pena* express fragility and rupture in close family relationships, a lack of anchoring in a core set of relationships. This is conveyed as a lack of love, *cariño*, emotional closeness and attachment due to ‘not growing up together’ or ‘not being raised together’ with their parents and siblings. Lucia (E3, 35 years old) recalls her childhood and youth as times of immense sadness and this pain has continued in her life.

“it stays with you, from childhood it stays with you, for me as well, I always remember ... I don’t want to keep on remembering though, it’s something awful that you feel in your heart [crying], I don’t want to remember”.

Lucia was born in Lima. When she was five years old her mother died, several years later her father took her and her sister Maria (E2, 33 years old) back to live in his village of origin in Cusco. As stated earlier, Lucia’s father was violent and physically abusive towards her, “as I was the eldest, it all came my way”. From the age of nine, Lucia embarked on a cycle of mobility, and as I showed in the previous section, Lucia recalls these moves as an escape from her father. Lucia expresses her lack of *cariño* and love from her father and the distance in their relationship as being because she has not lived with her father and subsequently “I don’t feel for him”:

“I don’t communicate much with him.... my father, if he really loved me he would have said, he would be here, he would have come here or he would have called me, always at the times that I most, look for example, when I got married, he knew that I was going to get married... and he didn’t come... And these things they keep on destroying this affection, because when I most need my dad he’s not there”.

Lucia also feels distanced from her sister even though she now lives nearby her in Esperanza.

“My sister seeing as she grew up more with my dad,... Although we are sisters... we don’t seem like sisters ... we are the same blood but however

there's not this sister relationship,... there's no relationship. I feel distant with her because we have not grown up together”.

This shows that feelings of a lack of anchoring are not only located in parent-child relations but also related to not being raised together with their siblings. Not growing up together was associated with not feeling *cariño* or love for others, being ‘without feelings’, conveying a lack of emotional attachment and anchoring in a core set of relationships. In particular, interviewees repeated that they felt alone, that they had lived their lives alone even though they were living with other relatives and often continued to relate in some form to those who they felt ‘abandoned’ by. Loneliness relates to “the feelings associated with the absence of an intimate attachment, feelings of emptiness or abandonment” (de Jong Gierveld, 1998: 74 in Scharf *et al* 2004: 172). It is useful here to consider the notion of a ‘care drain’ in the literature on ‘global care chains’¹⁰⁴ (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003). ‘Care drain’ refers to the care gaps which are left in households where women have migrated internationally for paid care work and have subsequently redirected their feelings and attentiveness from the South to the North (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003; Kofman and Raghuram 2009). Sorensen (2006: 227) emphasises however that ‘care drains’ (in the Dominican Republic) precede international migration, for example rural domestic workers who are employed in urban areas with children being raised often by their grandmothers and other relatives, and therefore “should not be attributed solely to contemporary global care chains”. My research reveals that ‘care drains’ can occur even with mobility within Lima itself, as in Vilma’s (E30) case mentioned above. The lack of relational anchoring expressed in narratives of enduring sorrow parallels this notion of ‘care drains’. Children themselves also experience care gaps when they move to other homes, especially for domestic work, living apart from their parents and siblings. Rufina (E37, 30 years old)’s mother died when she was a child, she explains “I’ve not received *cariño* from my father” and that this lack of *cariño* is shown by him sending her to different homes from the age of eight where she was maltreated. Rufina went to live and work with a primary school teacher but explains “I was dying of hunger ... I suffered, I didn’t eat anything, they didn’t

¹⁰⁴ Chains which are created by the importation of care and love from poor to rich countries (Sorensen, 2006).

give me food”, she went on to say how the teacher attacked her, and abused her physically and psychologically.

Resentment [*resentimiento*] is a key emotion associated with abandonment and enduring *pena*. Resentment refers to an intense emotional pain, anger and heartache, leaving a deep wound which continues to affect their emotional wellbeing and sense of personal worth (Josephides, 2005: 72). The hurt felt is experienced as “a deep personal injury” (Josephides, 2005: 81) or emotional injury (Parreñas, 2005) that stays with the person. Ruben (E19, 28 years old) was born in Cerro de Pasco, he was abandoned by his father soon after birth. Then, at eight years old when his mother started a new relationship, he was given to his maternal *abuela* [grandmother]. Another reason behind this was his conflictive relationship with his mother’s new partner, who used to beat him. Ruben stayed with his *abuela* in a village in Cerro de Pasco until she died when he was 15 years old and he went to live with an aunt (mother’s sister) in Huancayo to study. Ruben met his *conviviente* Edith (E20, 28 years old) whilst he was living in Huancayo and they moved to Esperanza when he was 18 years old. Following moving to Esperanza they have tried returning to both Ruben’s and Edith’s places of origin in an attempt to re-establish some form of connection with their families and to seek support as they tried to establish themselves and started a family. However neither attempt proved fruitful. Ruben also found out several years ago who his father is and went to find him in Junin (*sierra*). He has no biological siblings, only step-siblings with whom he is not close. Ruben’s narrative is dominated by the resentment he feels towards his family, he feels excluded and isolated from the family.

“I’ve not grown up with them, and they haven’t supported me much either, because of this I’m resentful as they haven’t supported me as it should be, my family”.

Ruben is resentful because his step-siblings have managed to become professionals through studying at university with the support of his parents (both parents had new relationships) whilst he has not received the support he feels entitled to as a son. In particular, he is resentful and angry that his mother prefers her step-daughter, “a stranger [*desconocida*]”, not of the same blood, over him. When asked about his relationship with his mother now he comments “I feel resentful... I’m very resentful, I only have resentment in my heart”. This is in

part about not receiving the support from his parents that he feels he is entitled to as kin, but is also experienced as a deep emotional pain. It reflects rupture and breakage in his sense of anchoring to his family. Ruben's relations with his mother and father remain fractured. They do not visit each other, even though now his mother has moved from Cerro de Pasco to nearby Chosica, and his father also now lives in Lima. Ruben has three children and emphasises that they are 'in need'; he links his poverty with his lack of relationship to his parents.

Although some interviewees lamented the lack of a father's *cariño*, a mother's absence is portrayed as having a deeper emotional impact compared with a father's absence and reveals the importance of emotional attachment and nurturing in the mother-child relation (Boyden and Mann, 2005). It also reveals the socio-cultural meaning of the mother-child bond. Irene's (E21, 65 years old) narrative was dominated by the absence of her mother, particularly when growing up. Irene repeated in the interview "I grew up without a mum, I feel alone [crying]". Irene was raised by her *abuela* in Tingo Maria (*selva*) for several years and following her death, moved on to her father and step-mother for two to three years but her father drank and punished her compelling her to move onto an aunt, she started working from the age of 11 years. Irene met her biological mother for the first time when she was 22 years old. Irene relates the distance in her relationship with her mother (who lives in Huanuco) and the lack of *cariño* she feels for her to not being raised by her.

"sometimes I feel when I first see her, I feel a happiness [*alegria*] but when I leave I feel like a distant relative, I feel like this with my mum, ... After, when I leave her presence I feel like a distant relative, and I say to myself that this is because she did not raise me, because of this I don't feel for her, I say".

Irene has step-siblings on her mother's side with whom she is not close. Irene's narrative is particularly interesting because she expresses a continuing gap in her life, a continuing loneliness and isolation, despite having her own children and grandchildren. She now lives together with her son and two grandchildren yet still expresses a 'lack' in her life and that she feels alone.

Although some spoke of lacking a father's affection, in general a father's absence was couched in terms of a lack of provisioning, in particular not providing an education to their child. Fathers were expected to be economic

providers and responsible for their families, sustaining and supporting them (Fuller, 2000: 97-98). Lizbet's (E46) father, who abandoned her as a baby, lives in Huancayo; they rarely communicate and he has not supported her:

“when I was older, 12 or 13 years old, he came .. he gave me a tip [*propina*], nothing else, ... he didn't have any responsibility ... it didn't matter to him what kind of education I had or didn't have, he wasn't interested”.

Ruben (E19, 28 years old) similarly comments about his father:

“I'm thinking to go to visit him [his father], to talk, I need a father's advice, above all some support, as he hasn't given me my profession, I'm going to seek my right [*mi derecho*]”.

Clara's (E34, 32 years old) narrative was dominated by being raised by her maternal grandparents, her mother's absence through working away and only visiting on Sundays and their subsequent distant relationship. Clara explains that although her mother provided materially for her and her sister and they now live nearby each other in Esperanza, her absence throughout her childhood and youth continues to mould their relationship which she describes as distant and dry [*seca*], without affection [*cariño*] or trust [*confianza*]. Similar to other interviewees Clara did not discuss her relationship with her father, who also was not present throughout her childhood and youth (he died when she was 15 years old). Much was left unsaid in relation to absent fathers which suggests there is a tacit acceptance of a father's absence, fatherly neglect is “a recognised idiom” (Coe, 2011b: 153), a fact of life (Åkesson *et al*, 2012). Although ‘child-giving’ and multiple parents are common practices, these habits seem to sit alongside a contradictory notion or expectation of ‘always present’ mothers, as shown above in the case of Vilma. Vilma's daughter Monica (E31, 18 years old) expresses her mother's absence

“I feel more her [mother] absence ... yes, I believe that you feel maternal absence more, because she is the person who is always there, she cooks for you, gets you ready for bed”.

These gendered differences in how separation from mothers and fathers is experienced compare with other studies which find that children talk about the lack of care received from their mothers while rarely blaming their fathers (Parreñas, 2005; Zontini, 2010).

The lack or absence of relational anchoring conveyed in the interviews however is not only based on the relational context surrounding mobility but also about the relational settings entailed in their experiences of mobility and the homes they go to. Being raised by grandparents, especially maternal grandmothers seems to lead to a greater sense of anchoring compared to being raised by more distant relatives or non-relatives. Grandmothers [*abuelas*] appear to be the most ‘successful’ ‘other mothers’ in terms of creating a sense of anchoring. The notion of ‘other mothering’ is “defined by acts of nurturing and care giving rather than biological relationships between mother and children” (Kofman and Raghuram, 2009: 12). Ruben expresses his anchoring to his *abuela*, who raised him between the ages eight to 15 years old:

“well, I had *cariño* from my *abuela*, she had given it to me, but nobody else, she loved me a lot, ... she was my mum”.

Those interviewees who had been raised by their grandparents felt the relation was close and affectionate, their attachment was shown by calling them ‘mum’ and ‘dad’. However, these relations are often short-lived with grandparents dying whilst the grandchild is still young. A further pattern in narratives of enduring *pena* is that where other attachments are made, these are often just ‘temporary anchors’. These relations have been difficult to continue, not having contact over long periods of time, not visiting each other, leading to a continuing feeling of loneliness and isolation. Irene (E21, 65 years old) for example identifies her step-mother, who she lived with for a couple of years as a child, as a key figure in her life:

“the only one that I miss is my step-mother, as she used to brush my hair, she would say to me ‘daughter, brush your hair,... go to do your homework’, this love I used to have from my *mama* [step-mother] [crying]”.

However, this relation has been short-lived; Irene has not seen her step-mother in 25 years. Irene feels guilt and sorrow that she does not have the resources to keep in touch with and help her step-mother; that she cannot reciprocate the care that she received from her as a child. Irene cries in the interview as she comments

“she brought me up, she provided for me, but I can’t go to bring her here, like she had me, I long to have her here, but one needs more resources,

how could I? I can't... how much I want to make it up to her, to give her some support”.

Rufina (E37, 30 years old) similarly identifies an aunt in her village of origin (near Huancayo) as her ‘other mother’ with whom she felt attached but again this relation has been short-lived:

“She’s been like a mum, I miss her a lot, ... I lived with her, she raised me. When I was little she used to look after me... they say I was born in her hands ... she called me ‘my daughter’ ... [But] now we don’t talk and I know that as well, she’s a bit distanced because she’s not seen me”.

The relational anchoring imagery in narratives of enduring *pena* is distinct from other narratives who although followed a similar mobility path or pattern, moving as children or when young to an aunt or uncle, helping them in their homes or with their businesses, the relational circumstances and emotions expressed were contrasting. In these cases, their experiences were more positive and less marked by rupture and fractured relations. These interviewees emphasise moving to ‘help’ aunts or others as a transitional phase, viewing the period of time living with an aunt as a stepping stone to establish themselves in the city, before meeting their *conviviente* and starting a family. Anderson *et al* (2006) similarly identify domestic work as forming a platform to get to the city, access education, and to move on to other jobs later on. They also tended to mention that they went to ‘good’ aunts or uncles indicating that they experienced the ‘warmth and affection of a family’ or were ‘like friends’, shared activities together (e.g. eating together), were treated well and were able to study. Sofia (E17, 25 years old) lived with her *tia* for five years in Lima, she managed to finish secondary school and reflects that it depends what ‘type of *tia*’ one goes to live with and that she was fortunate that she was not exploited. These cases were also distinguishable from those narratives of an enduring sorrow in that they had retained or readjusted a sense of anchoring relationally through managing to continue family connections. Ryan (2004: 365) conveys the importance of strong familial networks when coping with a hostile social environment:

“Strong emotional and physical links with ‘home’ contributed to a strong sense of identity and self-esteem which has been found to be important for

migrants in a potentially hostile social environment (McGrath and Walsh, 2000)”.

Sofia (E17) felt alone when living with her *tia* in Lima however, her continued connection to her parents and siblings in Ayacucho helped her to cope with the situation and to view it as a transitional phase in getting established in Lima. A further issue is that a few of the interviewees (mainly male) with more positive narratives appeared to be currently managing financially with steady work or running their own business. This raises the issue of how people feel about their present affecting how they read their pasts and future (White, 2008: 16). Almost all those who express an enduring sorrow and isolation were among the poorest, living in the higher zones of the community and were still struggling to establish themselves, access basic services and find stable work. These cases convey a more ambiguous relational anchoring imagery which has entailed greater rupture in relationships. The final section explores the nature of this ambiguous anchoring.

8.6 Ambiguous anchoring, being ‘like family’ and cycles of vulnerabilities

8.6.1 Searching affection and being ‘like family’

I was particularly struck by the way interviewees searched a sense of anchoring in the homes they moved to, with aunts and uncles, more distant relatives and non-relatives, how they sought to create family or form ‘family-like’ relations and the ambiguity in these relations and living situations. This seemed particularly important when the relational circumstances of mobility were marked by fractured and ruptured relations with family. Interviewees express a need to search for affection [*cariño*] in the homes they moved to, a desire to create family or form ‘family-like’ relations in these relational settings, to be ‘like a daughter’, drawing the relation closer through calling those they live with ‘*tia*’ or ‘like a mother’. By calling a distant relative or non-relative ‘*tia*’ or ‘like a mother’, the idiom of family is placed onto the relationship, an attempt to make the relation ‘family-like’, to form a close, personal relationship. I have found the studies by

Young (1987) and Gill (1994) on domestic work in Lima and Bolivia respectively helpful here. Gill (1994: 70) argues

“Because of their young age, the isolation of domestic work, and the lack of emotional support from family members, servants are almost forced to establish a personal relation with their employers. Many household workers initially look to female employers for the nurturing that they so desperately need from their own families. Not surprisingly, they feel that one of the most important aspects of any domestic service position is that the *señora* ‘treat them like another member of the family’ ”.

To be treated like a family member means being fed, clothed, treated with affection and warmth, and supported to study (Leinaweaver, 2008a; Gill, 1994; Young, 1987). Young (1987) argues that the idiom of the family promises protection and family security. However, the nature of the domestic service setting means that transferring the idiom of family onto these relations led to tensions and ambiguities masking, obscuring and glossing over these inherently unequal and exploitative relations (Gill, 1994). These relational settings and living situations are marked by ambiguity.

For some, the poor and abusive treatment they received meant that they never felt ‘like family’. This was particularly the case when there was a greater class distance and when the home was of a more distant relative or non-relative. Eva (E42, 37 years old) expresses the contradiction she experienced when going to live with her *madrina* [godmother] of a higher class in Lima when she was seven years old:

“It was lovely to arrive at her house, it was really elegant with individual rooms, an *empleada* [domestic worker], I thought that things were going to be different ... As soon as I arrived they sent me with the same *empleada* to wash the dishes from dinner, ... and so, when seeing all of this, I didn’t see [experience] the *cariño* [affection] that I thought I was going to... My *madrina*, she made me do things that, well, that was a ‘dry’ [*seco*] *cariño*”.

Although Eva’s *madrina* called her ‘*hija*’ [daughter], Eva did not receive ‘real’ *cariño* from her, ‘*cariño seco*’ refers to a *cariño* due to obligation, her obligation as a godmother, rather than the affection and love expected from family relations. Eva was also maltreated and beaten by her *madrina*’s daughter-in-law.

“She used to grab me and hit me, with her hand on my head, she threw these punches on my head... she threw these punches at me, I was covered in blood, lots of blood was coming from my nose... I was so fed up of these punches”.

Eva stayed in her *madrina*'s home for a year and then returned with her mother to Cerro de Pasco. Following her experience living with her *madrina* in Lima, Eva felt vulnerable about moving to other homes:

“as my *madrina* had hurt me, I was scared that if I escaped my mum would not come to collect me, I was thinking the worst ... I didn't have the courage to go, I put up with the torture of my mother”.

Eva explains how she felt “trapped in the claws” of her *madrina* and her mother, having no way out. However, a couple of years later Eva moved on to live and work with her *tia* Goyita in Lima between the ages of 10-15 years. Common to other interviewees, this relational setting revealed a more blurred mix of affection within an inherently unequal and exploitative relation. Weismantel (2001: 236) illuminates this ambiguity:

“young women helped older ones in relationships that were either actually or fictively the kin relations of mother and daughter, or aunt and nieces – but were also those of employer and employee ... The relationships between older and younger, richer and poorer women are unequal – and affectionate”.

This shows how relationships can be both positive and negative at the same time. Eva received a minimal payment for her work and emphasises that her *tia* Goyita was ‘like a mother’ to her, that she ‘watched over’ her, protected her, fed her and treated her with affection.

“they never maltreated me, everything was with a lot of affection [*cariño*], when they spoke to me, when they ordered me about, it was something, they never said ‘bring this’, [but] with much [affection] ‘*mamacita* [affectionate term], run, bring this my love’ and when they spoke like this, for me, what they ordered me to do, I wanted to do it ten times more”.

This conveys the ‘ambiguous affections’ between domestic workers and employers (Goldstein, 2003). Lucia's (E3, 35 years old) mobility story is framed as a search for affection [*cariño*], a search for anchoring, in the different homes

she moved to since the age of nine. When she was going to live with her *tios* as a child, Lucia's father told her:

“ ‘daughter, you must be helpful ... ask your *tio* what can I do? Can I help you?, clean? ... then when you do this your *tios* are going to love you [*te van a querer*]’ he told me, ‘they’re going to love you, you’re going to make your *tios* love you’ ”.

Tamagno (2002) in her study of relations between family members in Peru and Italy, identifies the discourse of ‘winning somebody’s affection’ [*debes ganarte su cariño*] as a cultural strategy of adjustment and adaptation in destinations of movement¹⁰⁵, to enable people to establish and maintain social relations.

Tamagno argues that winning the affection and love of others “has been fundamental to surviving in the midst of difficult family situations and frequent moves” (p.108) and that the feelings generated by being accepted, winning *cariño*, or being rejected are fundamental to their wellbeing (p.116). This is central to Lucia’s narrative. In each home she lived in, Lucia tried to gain the love and affection of those she was living with, by working hard, being helpful and obliging. She explains

“I wanted them to love me, seeing as I didn’t have *cariño*, well I did from my mum when she was alive, my father was distant, I wanted to feel *cariño* and my father said they’re going to love you, so I was helpful”

At nine years old, she went to Cusco to her *tio* (who was actually a *paisano* – from the same village). Lucia recalls:

“[I thought] they were going to love me, with *cariño*, they’re going to love me because I’m doing these things, so I did more things so that they loved me, I said,... for more *cariño* ...there was so much work to do, so I was really helpful... I got accustomed to it [*me acostumbré*]... I was going to the other *tia* and the same, what she told me to do I did, I did it saying that they love me”.

Working hard to make others love her involved forms of exploitation, submission and unequal relations which conveys the ‘ambiguous affections’ in these family environments. As Tamagno (2002: 117) also argues, the strategy of winning

¹⁰⁵ Tamagno cites examples of the efforts Camila’s daughters in Italy made ‘to win the affection’ of their employers, as well as Camila’s own efforts to ‘win people’s love’ with employers in her various moves within Peru.

somebody's affection can in some cases lead to forms of exploitation and/or submission to a patron-client relationship.

8.6.2 Cycles of vulnerabilities

Narratives of enduring *pena* and isolation reveal a pattern of cycles of vulnerabilities as girls and young women rotate around different *tias* and *tios* or non-relatives, not only in a search for affection, but also in their search for short-term survival and security – for shelter and food. Wood (1999) has introduced the notion of ‘adverse incorporation’ to refer to how poor people are incorporated into relationships crossing social boundaries on adverse terms that can reinforce their alienation (Copestake and Wood, 2008: 198). Relationships of adverse incorporation can be restrictive and exploitative while at the same time, crucial to livelihood security, particularly in the short-term, which Wood (2002) has termed the ‘Faustian bargain’ (Rafique *et al*, 2006). The Faustian bargain portrays the need for survival and security in the present involving loyalty to relations that presently work and deliver livelihoods in the short-term, whatever the longer term cost (Wood, 2002: 455). The search for short-term security can reproduce “the conditions for long-term insecurity in the future” (Wood, 2002: 457). Young has argued that “the definition of the domestic servant as ‘like a daughter’ is part of the effort to secure her dependence and continual devotion to the family” (1987: 370). However, what struck me in the interviews was the short-term nature of these relations, rather than securing longer term loyalty and commitment to the family. This is shown by how, when interviewees felt dissatisfied with the living situation, they moved on to other positions, to other homes, escaping and moving on from *tia* to *tia*. In these cases interviewees showed a degree of agency within cycles of vulnerabilities in the way they contested, confronted, and left exploitative and abusive relations. However often they moved onto another exploitative living situation, being trapped in cycles of adverse incorporation and vulnerability, due to their need for short-term security.

Ida (E16, 27 years old) engaged in cycles of mobility since the age of six first moving to Arequipa city and then to Lima, she moved around various *señoras* and *paisanos* all known to her parents, a teacher, and an aunt/uncle. She explains how she was continually maltreated and was treated ‘like a slave’ and often not given food to eat. Ida has drifted apart from her family, she has had no contact

with her parents and some of her siblings for six years. Ida expresses that she's a person 'without feelings' because she's been separated from her family since a child. However, she emphasises that she has known how to defend herself [*defenderse*], and has on several occasions confronted those she has lived with about her exploitation and abuse. Ida details how when she was living with an aunt and uncle, her *tio* had 'made advances' towards her. Sexual abuse was often not verbalised in the narratives but implied. Ida eventually told her aunt what had happened but her aunt did not believe her and it created distance between Ida and her other aunts. At 17 years old Ida moved from Arequipa to Lima to live with a *señora*, a fellow *paisana*, to work in her home. Ida was able to study and received a minimal payment for her work. She was aware of her exploitation and their unequal relationship. Ida tried to negotiate an increase in her payment but reveals the tensions and boundaries in their relationship:

"They were abusing me, but as she was my *paisana*, one day I asked for an increase and she was annoyed ... I left feeling sorrow because I'd got used to it there, as they were also like family, they were good people".

This conveys the ambiguity of being 'like family' and 'good people' yet at the same time being exploited by them. Ida's cycles of mobility entailed confronting abusive situations, some of these were domestic service settings, others involved working in relative's businesses. She emphasises how she has fought to overcome these situations, being resilient and having the strength to carry on, to keep fighting to *salir adelante*, yet she has also been 'trapped' in cycles of vulnerabilities.

Returning to Lucia's mobility story, following her moves around several aunts and uncles in Cusco, Lucia moved to Lima (San Martin de Porres) when she was 11 years old to her *tia* Maria (her mother's cousin) where she stayed until she was 15 years old. Despite working hard she did not find the *cariño* she was searching for.

"...with my *tia* Maria, being my family, my mother's cousin, she didn't treat me like this, she treated me worse like a stranger ... even though I was her blood, she treated me this way, so this well, it's not *cariño* is it?..."

Lucia explains how she always kept quiet about her poor treatment and exploitation, "I said to myself quiet, quiet, quiet... I was scared of talking [speaking up]". However, Lucia identifies a key turning point in her life when she

‘woke up’ to the way she was being exploited by her *tia*. At 15 years old she decided to leave her *tia* Maria:

“I left from there because ... I realised ... I started to complain a little because they exploited me a lot, too much. So as I already started to wake up...I wanted to escape”.

After searching out another *tio* (her father’s half brother) to live with in Lima where she did not settle or find *cariño*, Lucia went in search of her old neighbour Juana in La Victoria, Lima. It was here she found and experienced the *cariño* and nurturing that she had been searching. Lucia found a sense of relational anchoring with Juana and her daughters.

“at this time I didn’t say mum, *tia* I said to her, *tia* Juana, *tia* Juana, *tia* until there, since I was 16 years old, when I lived with her, then I knew that, it’s like, how can I tell you, it’s to live like [crying] like you have to live without maltreatment, without... [crying] ... even the shampoo, my *tia* never let me wash my hair with shampoo always with Ace [detergent for washing clothes] ... whereas with her I began to know what thing actually, how a mum is, or how a family actually is, how they love you, not washing with Ace, she gave me shampoo ... well I was 16 years old and they, they treated me how it should be and I liked that. From there, how I was living with my mum, I started to live [*llegue a vivir*]”

The impact on Lucia’s wellbeing of finding ‘*mama* Juana’ and receiving the *cariño* and quality of treatment that she needed is evident here:

“in my case, my mum, even though she is not my mum, nothing, there’s a very special *cariño* for her, it has really affected me, she has this tenderness, at the time when I didn’t have a mum she has had this tenderness, this love [*amor*], it was actually like how you should feel for a mum. ... I’ve known how to feel like a daughter, so this has affected me a lot”

Lucia’s closeness to *mama* Juana was also related to her shared knowledge, experiences and memories of her biological mother when she was alive. This maternal connection seems significant to Lucia. Juana had been close friends with her mother, they were ‘like a family’. Before Lucia’s mother died they used to live next to each other.

“she said that my mum was a good person, that she helped her, she said that they used to cook together, ‘she helped me like a daughter, she had been like a sister to me’ she told me”... “I always said *tia* when I was little, always said *tia, tia*, as she was always together with my mum”

Lucia calls *mama Juana*’s children her cousins, and views them as ‘like sisters’ even though they are not of the same blood, and they treated her “like another sister”. Although Lucia was working with *mama Juana*, it was different to the other homes in which she worked:

“I didn’t feel this pressure that I had to work through the night, not to have time for anything else, I felt as if I would be in my house, with my family. I felt comfortable, the first time that I felt like that... *tia* I want to study, ‘yes daughter’ she said, ‘you’re going to work with me, you’re going to study’, ... as it was vacations she said to me ‘let’s go to work, ... you’re going to help me like my daughters do’ ”.

Mama Juana had lived in the same conditions in which Lucia grew up, Lucia emphasises, ‘she has also suffered’, she appears to share a similar socio-economic position.

However despite finding a sense of anchoring with Juana and what appears to be a less exploitative work situation, this relation was not without ambiguity. Lucia also highlights the limits or boundaries to her relation with ‘*mama Juana*’, although she is ‘like a daughter’ she is not ‘as a daughter’. Young (1987) identifies the myth of ‘being like a daughter’ in relation to domestic workers in the patron family, arguing that:

“They [domestic servants] find themselves both members and non-members; standing simultaneously within the familial boundaries yet outside them” (Young, 1987: 366).

Lucia does not share the material benefits and commitments as *mama Juana* shares with her ‘true’ daughters, for example, in terms of supporting her education or buying her new clothes. This was particularly evident when Lucia got together with her now husband, he went to visit *mama Juana* to seek her permission for their marriage, to gain her respect for their relationship. This episode shows how Lucia and her husband tried actively to cement the relationship with Juana, to ask her to be the godmother [*madrina*] for their marriage, in order to secure longer-term obligation and commitment. However, Juana’s reaction illuminates the

significance of kin relations, even distant relations, and ‘raising a child’ in terms of being where responsibilities and obligations lie, these obligations being difficult to create and enforce in non-kin relations:

“ ‘I am not her family, I don’t have, I’m not anything to do with her, you must go to talk to *señora* Maria who raised her for five years, and also she’s her mother’s cousin, so there you must go to ask for her hand in marriage... you have to ask her so that she can be your *madrina*’, ... so that she would be my *madrina*”.

Being asked to be a *madrina* entails an obligation to sponsor the wedding and to help the couple set up a household and keep it together (Isbell, 1977). As a single mother with four daughters, Juana probably could not afford to take on this financial commitment to the couple. Although I have stressed the short-term nature of some domestic service relations, this episode reveals the difficulty in breaking away from adverse and problematic relations, especially when these relations are kin-based (even distant kin, in this case a mother’s cousin) and when lacking other key relations to call upon. Lucia also needed to return to her *tia* Maria when she had marital problems, part of her *tia*’s obligation as her marriage *madrina* (Lambert, 1977). This shows her continuing dependency on her aunt, a relation that she had previously tried to escape from.

Eva also reveals the enduring obligation to kin relations. Eva emphasises that her *nervios* and *pena* has continued throughout her life:

“I have such a big wound in my soul that doesn’t go away, because it’s very sad all that has happened to me [crying]... my mum tortured me when I was little and for me the world was awful ... my mum has caused a lot of sadness in my heart and I want to cry”.

However, despite the harm that Eva identifies her mother as causing, she now lives with Eva, her husband and children. Eva comments that their relationship has not improved. She explains

“we have the obligation to care for them even if the parent has been bad before”.

This shows that ‘family’ retains a symbolic and practical significance in peoples lives even when these relations are conflictive, abusive or problematic (Backett-Milburn *et al*, 2008). It is difficult to break away from parental relationships, as Eva conveys:

“a thousand times I would have preferred to lose my mother ... but there was no other way”.

Eva’s case reveals that “despite previous abandonment, mistreatment, years of separation, there is a tremendous institutional sentiment binding blood relatives together” (Fonseca, 1991: 148). These examples from Lucia and Eva reveal the experiences of living with ongoing difficult relationships with parents and more distant relatives, the ‘darker side’ of families (Zontini, 2010).

8.6.3 Pena, suffering and ‘falling down’

Life course frameworks show how particular past events and experiences are significant in shaping and determining the course of peoples lives (Lloyd-Sherlock, 2010; Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008). Lucia feels that she has had a continual struggle and fight in her life to make ends meet. She emphasises how she has needed a mindset to get ahead and overcome her difficulties and to have strength [*ponerme fuerte*] and resilience, but feels she has never had a tranquil life. Rufina [E37, 30 years old] similarly feels that her life has been ‘full of problems’ which expresses a context of poverty and hardship.

“my life has been so sad, everything has been problem after problem, heavy problems [*fuertes problemas*] ... I’ve suffered so much... I’m alone, alone [*solita*]”

Rufina identifies the headaches that she has suffered since childhood as being caused by her suffering, stress and lack of food. Continual suffering and *pena* cannot be divorced from the material conditions in which people are living, suffering is caused in a large part by material conditions (Goldstein, 2003). Struggles to achieve wellbeing in the face of persistent material poverty and cycles of poor relationships and vulnerabilities have led to a sense of being defeated and hopelessness. Despair, fatigue and falling down have been identified as symptoms of the related condition of nerves [*nervios*] (Low, 1985: 187).

Lucia’s relation with mama Juana has not fully alleviated her *pena*, she still feels a ‘lack’ in her life.

Lucia: There are days that I’m, the truth is I want to fall down [crying] I feel alone [*me siento solá*].

Researcher: But you have your children, you have your *mama* Juana, your cousins, you’re young, you’re working”

Lucia: But it's not the same, it seems that I lack something [*falta*]... so many things have happened to me [crying]. I've never had a tranquil life.

Pena can be "a result of feeling emotionally overtaxed by taking on overwhelming burdens" (Miles, 1997: 66). *Pena* and *nervios* are linked with economic problems and situational stresses including stemming from over-work, malnourishment, and physical exhaustion (Low, 1985: 187; Pribilsky, 2001; Scheper-Hughes, 2008).

Lucia expresses the pressure she is under to make ends meet causing her anxiety and distress:

"I get very stressed because the bills come, one thing, another thing, the expenses for school, for books ... Sometimes I want to explode [crying]... it's like a storm, it's always been like this since the most difficult times of my childhood, I feel like it's a tidal wave that's coming and explodes".

Lucia's feeling of falling down is also related to the absence of her husband. Lucia's husband lost his job as an electrician in the mid 1990s, and subsequently could only find temporary, poorly paid jobs. Poor labour market conditions forced him to travel to Ecuador with his brother in search of work in 2000. Lucia now feels abandoned by her husband. Although initially he used to return to Esperanza monthly, giving her money for the children and household expenses, the visits became less frequent and he returned with no money. On one return visit they argued about him taking out yet another loan and he went back to Ecuador and Lucia did not hear from him for over a year. Not knowing when her husband would return, or if he would return with money, increased Lucia's anxiety and sense of insecurity. Lucia said that before he went away he was a "good man", he did not maltreat her, and shared the domestic responsibilities including cooking. However, she now feels abandoned by him:

"since he's gone away [to Ecuador], I don't know him, it's not the same, now he's another person, he's more *machista* [macho], more *seco* [dry] and more *frio* [colder]. ... he doesn't even call his children, he's colder".

Lucia's feelings of 'falling down', sorrow and suffering is just as much part of her lack of material resources, struggles to get by materially, as it is about her damaged relationships, maltreatment, and now abandonment by her husband. This shows how wider socio-economic conditions influence emotions (Svašek, 2010).

Eva has similarly struggled to get by materially, all her jobs – in people’s homes, in a bakery, and factory, have entailed long working hours, exploitation, being paid very little. The trauma of Eva’s childhood has continued and seems to have defined the passage of her life. In her early twenties she met her first husband and had her first child, however, her marriage only lasted four months and losing her husband pushed her to breaking point: “it’s not happiness, it’s a bad memory because he left me with a child”. This abandonment by her husband added to her maltreatment by her mother when young, led her to attempt suicide. Suicide can be an extreme form of *nervios* (Pribilshy, 2001). Eva felt she had no reason to keep living because of all the suffering she had experienced, especially the ‘monster’ of her childhood:

“Life had no meaning for me ... and so, I took muriatic [hydrochloric] acid... I poisoned myself”.... “They took me to hospital, I didn’t even want them to do that, I wanted it to eat me away, I wanted to die. The monster [*monstruo*] was with me since childhood My husband cheated on me ... I didn’t even want to breathe, ... this was such a torture for me ... I preferred to get rid of myself”.

Eva later met her current partner and moved from Comas to San Martin de Porres (both Lima districts) to live with him and his parents. Her partner is an alcoholic, violent and abusive and he has been unfaithful. For Eva, meeting a partner has not broken or ended her cycle of vulnerability. Eva feels trapped once again, not able to leave her husband. They have three children together and as Van Vleet (2002) argues “most women do not have the financial, material, or emotional resources to live alone” (p.572), having no alternative place to live, no means of economic and emotional support (p.586). Eva expresses that she feels ‘defeated’ and blames her lack of a father, her problematic relation with her mother and her abusive and controlling husband as being the reason why she has not been able to be strong and not been able to get ahead.

8.7 Conclusion

I started this chapter by arguing that *pena* and the contrasting emotion of *tranquilo/a* [being tranquil/content] reflect senses of wellbeing. Through exploring the dynamics of the emotion of *pena* I have sought to show how

relationships are central to senses of wellbeing. I have linked *pena* with a disruption to relational anchoring and as conveying the socio-cultural meaning of separation from kin and loneliness. *Pena* is also a physical condition, affecting physical wellbeing. I considered what the expression of *pena* accomplishes, and showed how *pena* motivates connection, especially phone calls and visits, and that through ‘knowing’ and ‘being together’ sorrow subsides. The social nature of *pena* was also shown by how expressions of *pena* draw others to respond and facilitate connection, and also relates to concerns about how one’s own *pena* can affect the wellbeing of others.

I then moved on to consider cases of a continuing and enduring *pena*. I explored the relational anchoring imagery of these narratives of enduring *pena*, and stressed that the relational circumstances of mobility are central to understanding how mobility is experienced. These relational circumstances of mobility include the relational context surrounding mobility or prior to mobility and the relational settings and experiences in their subsequent moves. I have stressed as Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, (2008) argue, past experiences and relationships influence current emotions and perceptions of current wellbeing. Sentiments of abandonment and isolation were identified as being at the root of enduring *pena*. This reflects a lack of relational anchoring in a core set of relations is conveyed as a lack of love, *cariño*, emotional closeness and attachment due to ‘not growing up together’ or ‘not being raised together’ with their parents and siblings. It expresses a ‘care drain’. I argued that patterns of abandonment occur in a socio-cultural context of the routineness and normality of practices of parent-child separation, ‘child-giving’, and the institutionalisation of domestic service through the *sistema de tias*. Narratives of enduring *pena* are predominantly female narratives which reflects the gendered nature of these practices – sending girls to help in other homes, for domestic service. I also emphasised how the routineness and normality of these practices meant that it was not always clear when the living situation was actually one of domestic service or one of living together/staying with a relative. I suggested that the routineness of these practices has obscured the harm that such practices can bring for some. Feelings of abandonment, *pena*, a lack of anchoring and isolation continue even when having children of their own and partners which reveals the socio-cultural

meaning of close family or ‘true’ kin (Van Vleet, 2008) and the emotional need for anchoring to parents and siblings in particular.

I then explored the ambiguity and blurriness of relational settings in the homes people move to. Attempts to create family-like relations and search for affection and a sense of anchoring in these relations led to ‘ambiguous anchoring’ in inherently unequal and exploitative relations. Lucia’s case reveals a desperate search for anchoring in the homes she moved to, working hard to ‘make others love you’ and gain the affection of others. This confirms Tamagno’s (2002) finding that winning the affection of others in the midst of difficult family situations and frequent moves is fundamental to senses of wellbeing. The need for short-term security in terms of food and shelter leads to cycles of mobilities, vulnerabilities and adverse incorporation. Although within these cycles I showed how some women contested and confronted their exploitation, this often entailed moving onto other exploitative and unequal situations. I also showed a continuing dependency on kin relations including distant kin, even though these relations had been problematic and abusive, particularly in the absence of other key relations to call upon. Finally I argued that enduring *pena* is linked with continuous problems and suffering, feelings of ‘falling down’ and defeat which reveals how material conditions are intertwined with cycles of poor relations and vulnerabilities. This shows how emotions are influenced by wider socio-economic conditions. Through exploring predominantly female narratives of enduring *pena* it becomes clear that not only are these narratives related to the gendered nature of domestic service but the cycles of vulnerability reflect women’s positioning in Peruvian society. Gender, ethnic and class structures place some people in a more vulnerable position than others (Bastia, 2005). Female narratives of enduring sorrow and vulnerability reflect their positioning in a culture of *machismo*, their indigenous origin and continuing poverty alongside a lack or absence of the key relations needed to get by in this context.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Summary of findings

In this thesis I have studied and understood mobility on a broader canvas. I have built on an emerging argument in the literature to consider the multiplicity and complexity of migration and mobility in people's lives, rather than to focus on a specific type of migration flow (King and Skeldon, 2010). I have integrated the analysis of intra- and inter-national movement in a way that encompasses the respective literatures on migration (including its material aspects) but have done so within the broader conceptual framework of the relationship between wellbeing and mobility. I have highlighted the value of a wellbeing approach in addressing the dominance of economic concerns in the migration-development debate in terms of a focus on labour migration and flows of remittances and the role of diaspora resources in national development in countries of origin. Wellbeing builds on an established pathway in development of more holistic approaches (for example, the Human Development Reports, Sen's capabilities approach, participatory development, livelihoods and multidimensional poverty approaches) to recognise the social and personal in response to the dominance of economics (White, 2013). Wellbeing is understood to incorporate the interplay of the material, relational and subjective. I have drawn on wellbeing as a 'discursive space' or 'sensitising lens' through which to gain a more holistic view of the human face of mobility. In particular I have emphasised the distinctiveness of a wellbeing approach is its subjective focus. The subjective is understood to incorporate what people experience and feel about their lives; aspirations, hopes, fears and emotions; cultural values, ideologies and beliefs which shape perceptions (e.g. socio-cultural discourses and practices). People's own aspirations and experiences of life, perceptions and feelings about life are central to how they view and struggle for wellbeing (McGregor and Sumner, 2010). I have drawn on recent arguments within the transnational migration and transnational families literature to support this focus, arguing that there are parallels within this literature advancing similar themes to a wellbeing focus including a focus on the 'lived experiences' of migrants and their families and the emotional or 'felt' dimensions of movement (Conradson and McKay, 2007;

Evergeti and Ryan, 2011; Evergeti and Zontini, 2006; Svašek, 2010; Zontini, 2011). I have also argued that insights from the transnational migration literature can be usefully applied to the study of intra-national movements.

In this thesis I have moved beyond a concern with the costs and benefits of the act of movement by exploring also how both those who move and those who do not are affected by subsequent separation over time. Rather than focus solely on the act of movement, for example, in terms of benefits and costs, comparing/evaluating life before and after a specific migration event, or in terms of expectations/goals and the extent of achievement of these through migration, this thesis has considered cumulative moves over time through a life story/narrative approach. The thesis has shown the importance of considering time in studies of wellbeing, as people's sense of wellbeing can be highly conditioned by experiences in the past and/or expectations of the future. All human interaction takes place in the context of a past and a future, and both of these are important for relationships and interactions in the present (Bevan 2004b, cited in McGregor, 2007: 333). I have shown the value of a 'movie' focus taking into account cumulative moves over time as ongoing moments, connecting past, present and future as opposed to a 'snap-shot' or one-off migration event (McGregor, 2007). This movie focus aids an understanding of how wellbeing is in a constant process of construction, wellbeing as something that is 'lived' (White *et al*, 2013). Through exploring personal mobile lives, I have brought 'others' (even distant ones) more vividly into the movie; mobile lives are relational lives, intimately linked to others. 'Family migration' in the literature tends to refer to families which move either as complete units or in successive stages as one member moves ahead of others to secure work and shelter (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). Most commonly it depicts the male mover followed by a trailing dependent female (Kofman *et al*, 2011). This thesis in exploring mobile lives linked to others incorporates a wider relational lens or locus of relations to include spatially dispersed family members (including parents, siblings, aunts/uncles, grandparents, cousins, sisters and brothers-in-law, parents-in-law). Family is understood broadly to involve complex webs of relationships across and within generations and across locations, within the country and extending abroad. The transnationalism literature has tended to presume transnational households as

units which are resilient to separation (Akesson *et al*, 2012). The thesis has problematised this presumption through exploring how relations among dispersed relatives are reconfigured and reworked with separation.

I have elaborated on the core ideas of (i) individual pursuit of progress ('getting ahead') and (ii) the need for belonging ('relational anchoring'). Whilst mobility entails a search for material improvement (e.g. jobs, income, homes, education, healthcare, infrastructure), the meaning of movement extends beyond this, as captured in the socio-cultural idiom of *salir adelante* ['getting ahead']. I showed the cumulative moves that people make over the course of their lives as an ongoing search to get ahead. The search to get ahead is now extending abroad; another country becomes another layer of mobility in the search for progress. I showed mobility as strongly linked with family life phases and transitions, for example, multiple moves when young, then in the process of 'making one's life', meeting a partner and starting a family, becoming established and owning a home. I explored how 'getting ahead' is not an entirely individual goal but is linked to others through a morality of care, a commitment of care to others both intra-generationally and inter-generationally. An important dimension of *salir adelante* which came across strongly in the narratives is the sense of resilience and perception of capacity for agency that it portrays. It conveys a perception or mindset of overcoming difficulties and problems, determination, strength and effort to keep going and to keep seeking out opportunities in adverse conditions. The contrasting mindset of *conformismo* reflects lower or limited aspirations and a lack of future perspective and ambition. It conveys a resignation to one's situation and living conditions and not seeking out opportunities to improve. This lower sense of capacity for agency or 'poverty of agency' (Gough *et al*, 2007) is possibly linked to 'weak' capabilities and resources, lacking the skills, education, information/knowledge, physical health, social connections and economic resources required to be able to move.

The notion of relational anchoring was introduced to draw out how key relationships matter to people and to explore the dynamics that emerged in the narratives. Narratives reveal family as a key and often only source of support, a form of dependable security. I emphasised the significance of family relations in the context of insecure community relations marked by a lack of trust, suspicion,

and high levels of crime and violence in the community. However, the meaning of family extends beyond mechanisms for transfers, reciprocal exchanges and flows of resources. The notion of relational anchoring moves beyond viewing the relational or social as conjoined with material, instrumental terms, for example, as social capital, social resources, or social remittances. It conveys how people's senses of wellbeing are strongly influenced by the way they perceived their position in life (anchor) and how this is crucially coloured by their experience of and sense of quality of their relations with close family or significant others. Relational anchoring is conveyed by a sense of togetherness and closeness and is based on relations of *cariño* [affection, love and warmth]. This sense of anchoring is not solely restricted to blood relations but also develops through having lived together or been raised together. It expresses a sense of belonging and attachment, and reveals how these key relations are central to one's sense of self. It is the intrinsic emotional value and meaning derived from these relations which gives a sense of anchoring to people's lives, they are an important source of wellbeing in their own right (Lloyd-Sherlock and Locke, 2008). In particular I emphasised the significance of mothers and a maternal connection in the absence of a mother. I explored the dynamics of how anchoring shifts and changes through time (through the life cycle and inter-generationally) and across space (as relatives become spatially dispersed through mobility). Minimal time spent in areas of origin or parents' places of origin (e.g. moving as children/young and making infrequent return visits) combined with the dispersal of relatives and changes in relations (including older parents joining adult children, parents or other close relatives in origin dying, having few relatives or 'no-one left there') has led to a shift from village as anchor and wider village ties to a focusing down on family relations. I revealed how place becomes 'personified', as being where close relatives are present, or bringing back memories of loved ones and the significance of the family home.

I have drawn out the tensions that arise between these two drivers (getting ahead and the need for belonging) including exploring how individuals struggle to reconcile them and the emotional consequences of these tensions and struggles, in particular through the experience of sorrow [*pena*]. I identified the forms of connection between spatially dispersed relatives as anchoring practices, these

included phone calls and text messages, ‘sending’ (goods, money), visits and family gatherings, provision of care and support. These practices are vital to continuing, consolidating and strengthening relationships, to symbolising the meaning of family. I emphasised the significance of presenting giving and caring as voluntary (*de voluntad*), this expresses the depth and closeness of the relationship and presents the act of giving and caring as more than solely due to moral obligation. I identified the contrasting emotions of *pena* and *tranquilo* as reflective of senses of wellbeing. *Pena* expresses a sense of disruption in relationships and conveys the socio-cultural meaning of separation and living apart from kin. I showed how expressions of *pena* enact and motivate connection. Through ‘knowing’ and being physically together, *pena* subsides. *Pena* is recurrent and ongoing, it motivates continued connection. Establishing a routineness to anchoring practices aids movement from *pena* to *tranquilo*, it brings ‘a comforting / soothing effect’, helping people to navigate uncertain and difficult moments (Auyero and Swistun, 2008).

However, narratives revealed struggles, tensions and constraints in reworking the sense of anchoring in family relationships, in establishing routine in anchoring practices. This was particularly the case in narratives of the mid-age group where anchoring to kin (parents and siblings) and to ones immediate family (partner and children) created competing and conflicting demands on their limited and stretched resources. Although in general, the narratives portrayed a continued commitment to kin at times at the ‘expense’ of their own household. I detailed the intertwining of material and practical constraints including financial, infrastructural, distance, and time, in shaping what people are able to do in terms of establishing anchoring practices and the emotional repercussions of this. *Pena* is accentuated when people cannot maintain relations as they desire. For some, an acute lack of material resources leads to a withdrawal from relations to parents and siblings, a forced isolation. Part of the unspoken message of this disconnection may also have been a sense of failure and shame that they have not made progress and are not able to return with their ‘hands full’. Withdrawal from relations and responsibilities was also shown to be linked to class distance in the relationship whereby wealthier relatives withdraw and dissociate themselves from relations with poorer relatives. The reworking of family relations also points to the influence of underlying family histories, tensions and dynamics, to past

experiences of these relations. Narratives of a deeper, enduring *pena* draw out the interlinking material, symbolic and emotional impacts when people lack these key relations in their lives. Contrasting relational anchoring imageries brings to life the contrast in the Andean classification of poverty between *waqcha* and *apu* whereby poverty is intimately linked with a lack of kin relations. It also reveals the symbolic meaning of loneliness, separation and isolation, and the nature of family relations as key to ones wellbeing. Individuals often spoke of a continuing sense of intense loneliness and a ‘lack’ in their lives even when having children and grandchildren of their own and a partner. The emotional impact of living with ongoing difficult and fractured relations, lacking these anchoring points in their lives, is expressed as a deep, enduring *pena*, isolation, abandonment, resentment and a lack of care and affection. In these circumstances narratives show how people try to create close attachments with others but these are often temporary, transient and short-lived anchors. Blood ties are presented as the most enduring ties and the moral content (responsibilities and obligations) embedded in these relations is difficult to create and enforce in other non-kin relations. Exploring contrasting relational anchoring imageries reveals how past experiences, mobilities, events and relationships influence current emotions and perceptions of current wellbeing (Lloyd Sherlock and Locke, 2008). The relational conditions of mobility continue to shape trajectories and reverberate through experiences of mobility.

I have ensured that all this discussion is sensitive to gender differences, and (to a lesser extent) differences in age, class and ethnic identity, including with respect to patterns of care giving as well as livelihoods. I have shown the very different ways gender structures narratives for men and women, firstly in terms of how the reworking of relationships is played out in a highly gendered way, and secondly in terms of how gendered opportunities in the labour market and gendered power dynamics in families and households lead to contrasting experiences of mobility for men and women. Gender is a central ‘organising principle’ in mobile lives (Lutz, 2010).

Although narratives revealed a strong cultural notion of reciprocity and sense of shared responsibility (both inter-generationally and intra-generationally) guiding the reworking of family relationships, the way this works out in practice

was shown to be strongly gendered, negotiated and fluid. Males tended to provide financial support, consistent with male roles as the primary (if not sole) breadwinners and masculine discourses of the responsible son/provider, whereas females tended to provide 'hands on' care and support. I contrasted notions of the 'always available', dependable and reliable daughter with a tacit acceptance that a son might give less support due to his commitment to his immediate family. However, there is an inherent contradiction here that due to a woman's positioning in the household where a culture of *machismo* prevails, she faces greater struggle to live up to these expectations and maintain kin relations. This is evident in cases where a woman feels fortunate if her husband or *conviviente* supports her parents/relatives, for example, buying medicines or allowing them to stay in their home for care, which is considered the exception, not the norm. Although there was evidence in the interviews of sons evading responsibilities to parents and siblings, many demonstrated continued commitment and loyalty to kin, and to mothers in particular, at times creating conflicts within their own household.

Narratives of an enduring *pena* were predominantly female narratives and revealed mobility pathways that were more marked by vulnerabilities and ambiguities compared with male narratives. This reflects women's positioning in a culture of *machismo*, their indigenous/*sierra* origin, their lower socio-economic class and continuing poverty. Thus, gender combines with ethnic and class structures, placing some people in a more vulnerable position than others (Bastia, 2005). In exploring sentiments of abandonment I contrasted the normality and tacit acceptance of 'absent fathers' with notions and expectations of 'always present' mothers, nurturing, caring and physically present. Despite common habitual practices of multiple parents and 'child-giving', a mother's absence was particularly deeply felt whereas a father's absence was couched in terms of lack of provisioning, especially lack of support for schooling/education. I explored gendered patterns of sending children, most often daughters, to live and work in other homes through the *sistema de tias*. I discussed the ambiguities and blurriness of these living and work situations, how these relations can be necessary yet restrictive, affectionate and exploitative. The concept of 'adverse incorporation' was useful in discussing the nature of incorporation in the relationship, in terms of how the sharing of space is experienced. I also pointed to

the influence of the wider relational context, in particular a greater reliance on these ambiguous and ambivalent relations when lacking a sense of anchoring in relations with closer relatives (especially parents and siblings).

I have thereby contributed to a fuller and empirically grounded understanding of the concepts of development and wellbeing. Migration and mobility constitute a powerful window through which to explore the meaning of wellbeing and development as concepts. Rather than separating out or compartmentalising different dimensions of people's lives (e.g. economic, social, cultural, psychological), this thesis has drawn out the intertwinement and interplay of the material, relational and subjective/emotional dimensions of wellbeing. Through exploring people's experiences and feelings about their mobile lives, we have seen how these dimensions co-exist, interact and play out in people's lives, wellbeing "as it is lived" (White *et al*, 2013). In particular I have shown the significance of personal relationships for enhancing and undermining senses of wellbeing. I have shown some dynamics of how people "become who and what they are in and through their relatedness to others" (White, 2010: 164), how relationships are central organising principles in people's lives, how people are grounded in sets of relationships and for many their lived experience is about relationships and connections with others (Mason, 2000: 22-23). Mobility stories have revealed that moves are about more than livelihoods, making a living and labour migration. This research has shown the routineness of mobility in people's lives and provided evidence that family relations – intergenerational and intra-generational should be more central in discussions of migration and mobility and development. In particular I have emphasised the influence of the relational circumstances in which mobility takes place in shaping experiences and perceptions of wellbeing. However, this is not to understate the significance of the material conditions in which people live their lives. The material, relational and subjective/emotional dimensions of wellbeing are inseparable. For example, I have shown how material conditions place strain and impinge on the relations that are central to senses of anchoring and the emotional repercussions of these struggles to continue relations due to a lack of material resources as well as time. I have also shown how conditions of poverty and insecurity impact on care arrangements through children being sent to live in other homes and the emotional

impacts of this in terms of care deficits. Narratives of enduring *pena*, continual suffering, a life ‘full of problems’ and a continuing isolation are not only linked to difficult, fractured or absent key relations but are inseparable from the wider socio-economic context of persistent poverty and hardship.

A key dimension of wellbeing and development is a sense of and capacity for agency (White, 2013). The human development approach asserts that development should improve a person’s opportunities and enhance people’s ‘freedoms’ or capabilities (Sen, 1999, in UNDP, 2009), being able to choose the lives they want to lead including *where* to lead them. Human mobility is regarded as vital to human development and is a dimension of freedom (UNDP, 2009). Mobility implies a “capacity to move” (Crivello, 2009), it is an exercise or form of agency. I have highlighted a strong sense of agency expressed in narratives in moves made as children and adolescents. I also emphasised how women often confront, contest and leave exploitative living and working situations. However, I have also shown some of the ways in which individuals are constrained in their agency. A criticism often made of wellbeing approaches is that an individual focus fails to take into account structural influences on experiences; it understates the significance of structures (Wright, 2012). However, I feel that through exploring emotions and experiences of mobility, elements of ‘structures as lived’ have emerged through people’s stories. I have already highlighted above how gender discourses, responsibilities, roles and practices frame male and female narratives and have drawn out some of the darker sides of relations and gendered power dynamics. One way in which structures constrain agency is also in limiting the range of what can be thought (Camfield and McGregor, 2005). Bourdieu’s notion of habitus is helpful here. Habitus generates “regular practices, perceptions and attitudes that are not governed by rule or conscious calculation” (White and Ellis, 2006: 21). Internalised social and cultural formations shape perceptions, thoughts and experiences. The embeddedness of ‘leaving to get ahead’ [*salir adelante*], the routinised, habitual practices of ‘child-giving’ through the *sistema de tias*, socio-cultural patterns of early child independence and child labour, and the naturalisation of domestic service all contribute to and form part of habitus. These normalised, routinised and regularised practices point to the taken for granted and unquestioned nature of some of the actions people engage in, and the extent to which people ‘just do’ things. As the narratives have shown,

experiences of mobility often entail unintended, unforeseen and unexpected consequences (Akesson *et al*, 2012) (e.g. adverse incorporation, exploitation, no schooling). A subjective focus brings out these tensions, ambiguity and contradictions in what people do, it brings out the complexity of ‘real-life situations’ (Akesson *et al*, 2012). This raises implications for migration perspectives of the rational calculative actor, rationally weighing up choices and planning actions and for the appropriateness of viewing mobility as a calculated livelihood or household ‘strategy’ which implies conscious rational behaviour and a sequence of carefully planned actions (Schmink, 1984). Habitus can lead to a filtered or blinkered vision. People seem to be caught in the mindset of needing to leave ‘to get ahead’, even though many have failed to become professionals and secure jobs, mobility continues to be seen as something positive despite feedback of experiences of hardship. This shows how routines and interactions can work as blinders to hazards and dangers (Auyero and Swistun, 2008). Wright (2012) similarly notes that although Peruvian migrants in London and Madrid feedback how migration undermined their wellbeing, they still view this migration process as worth pursuing. This compares with the ‘school myth’ argument that education would overcome deep structural inequalities of race and class (see chapter three, p.50). This brings into focus deeper structures of social and racial inequality. As Takenaka and Pren (2010: 45) argue, massive population movements within Peru have not altered the fundamental social structure:

“Accordingly, this massive internal migration resulted in neither resolving ‘the deep economic and political problems that beset them’ nor ‘undermining the deep structures of social and racial inequality in Peruvian society’ (Sorensen, 2002: 39)” (Takenaka and Pren, 2010: 45).

This also serves to highlight the danger, as noted in the literature, of celebrating ‘migrants’ as ‘agents of development’ (de Haas, 2010) without attention to the structural features and constraints in which their lives are embedded.

The thesis has shown the importance of context in understandings of wellbeing. Conventional quantitative measures of subjective wellbeing, for example measures of life satisfaction, levels of happiness, or evaluation of life as a whole, tell us whether a person is happy/satisfied or not but tell us nothing about why this is the case, they are detached and decontextualised measures (White *et al*, 2013). They do not seek to engage with the substance and particularities of

people's lives (*ibid*). Methodologically this thesis has demonstrated the value of narratives as unstructured and free floating in drawing out the person 'in context', bringing out the substance, depth and complexities of people's lives. In particular the thesis has shown that relationships are central to senses of wellbeing in contexts of mobility, this raises the question of how surveys can address and measure people's experiences and quality of relationships beyond merely asking a person to rate levels of satisfaction with personal relationships. Also, is it possible to measure relationships in a survey and is it appropriate to do so? A key question for those who develop quantitative measures or scales of wellbeing, happiness and life satisfaction is how to build context into the questions in these measures. White *et al.* (2013) provide a useful example of using qualitative research to build context into an 'inner wellbeing' measure (see for example the discussion of the question about violence within the home). They identify how the social-desirability factor influenced responses to questions about close personal relationships portrayed as unified and harmonious whereas qualitative data collected alongside failed to support this picture.

9.2 Areas for further research

The thesis has revealed routines of mobility as a matter of norms and habitus rather than rational decision-making, embedded within a discourse of not-moving and staying as an integral (flip-side) of the culture of migration and movement, including positive and negative normative connotations that people who stay as well as move attach to the act of not moving. I have emphasised the habitus of 'leaving to get ahead' yet not everyone goes, staying is an integral, flip-side of the routiness of mobility. 'Not moving' in an environment characterised by out-movement is an understudied area in the literature that could be usefully explored in further research – why some people stay in a context where others are moving, the diverse ways in which 'left behind' is seen, the consequences of staying, and the interdependent relationship between those who move and those who stay (Kothari, 2003a). It is important to view non-movers and movers not as distinct, opposing categories but rather as flip-sides of the same coin, as integral parts of the practice of mobility and of the routineness of mobility. Non-movers are linked to movers, and throughout the course of their lives non-movers may

become movers, and movers become non-movers. I have explored the discourse of *conformismo* as depicting those who stay, it portrays a low perception of capacity for agency/mobility which can undermine wellbeing in a context where others are leaving/moving. However, *conformismo* is a discourse of the ‘moved’, not of the non-movers and can be viewed as an element of othering, rather than a positive discourse about staying. This could be explored further in future research. For example, in contrast to the discourse of *conformismo*, how do non-movers construct, present and tell their stories of staying in ways that are not derogatory? How do they transform ‘not going’ into a positive discourse or do people ‘play into’ the *conformismo* discourse? Are there gendered differences in the way people construct their narratives of staying? Insights from the interviews in the *sierra* communities show how some emphasise their anchoring point to their home, community, fields and animals - the balancing of their physical, social and spiritual worlds, but express imbalance and ambivalence in the social realm, as anchoring to their community conflicts with their point of anchoring to dispersed relatives (especially siblings, children, and grandchildren). Others draw on positive normative ideas of sacrificing themselves for the greater good of others, caring for an ageing parent enabling other siblings to get ahead elsewhere. Others expressed a more negative narrative of staying reflecting a sense of exclusion from mobility indicating their poverty and lack of capabilities and resources (e.g. skills, education, physical health, knowledge, social connections and so on) which inhibits people’s freedom and capacity to move. Mobility is often enabled by the non-mobility of others, moving and not moving exist in tandem, they are intimately linked. Further research could also explore how the tensions surrounding this are played out, for example among siblings where non-mobility of one/some (e.g. to care for sick or ageing parents, or to care of nieces/nephews) enables the mobility of other siblings. This link between moving and not moving also extends to international movements, which adds a further dynamic to explore.

The findings of the thesis relate to debates over place that acknowledge how physical space matters but in ways that change over time. Transnational communities have been characterised as ‘deterritorialised’ and ‘place-less’, the focus being on ‘transnational social spaces’, fluid links between countries

(Thieme, 2008). Transnationalism has highlighted the importance of networks rather than place and space (Coe, 2011b). However, recently concepts of place and space are returning to these discussions (Coe, 2011b). The thesis has shown the importance of place materially/practically and symbolically. The geography of the space people are in is a critical dimension to people's capacities to achieve wellbeing (White, 2010: 166). It defines what is possible for people to accomplish in terms of reworking relations with family, the establishment of anchoring routines, when separated through mobility. Poor infrastructure (e.g. telecommunications network, postal system, access to banks/bank account, transport networks), labour market conditions (e.g. lack of/insecure employment, low paid work, long working hours), and the remoteness of villages restrict and constrain what people can do in terms of establishing anchoring practices. Place also takes on a specific level of constraint for undocumented international migrants who face specific obstacles to reconfiguring their relations with family in Peru, in particular their lack of freedom of movement and impossibility of making return visits to Peru. In these circumstances phone calls and flows of gifts and money become particularly significant to maintaining relations. However, as Tamagno (2002) argues, movements within Peru can create greater physical, relational and emotional distance compared to international movements. Future research could further explore the role of physical place and distance (within countries and between countries) in re-establishing and maintaining relations with family (Coe, 2011b), and also in enabling or leading to a gradual withdrawal from relations.

Place is also important symbolically and attachments to place shift over time – through the life cycle and intergenerationally. The notion of relational anchoring has drawn out the significance of place as a connection to land but also to people. Attachment to place is not unconditional but changes over time. Further research could explore the differing attachments to place, for example as negative (e.g. distancing as connections weaken, as a negative memory of what they were or what they left behind – poverty and a lack of infrastructure, or a negative memory of painful experiences) as well as positive (e.g. nostalgia, memories of time spent with loved ones), and the extent to which negative association with place makes the breaking away from origin, weakening of ties and shifting of anchoring easier. Research could also explore how the dynamics

of attachment to place vary among those who move intra-nationally and those who move internationally. What is the influence or dynamic of remaining in the same country, within national boundaries, compared with being in a new country, away from one's homeland? Is it easier for people to shift anchoring to people and is there less nostalgia when they remain within the country? Is there a hierarchy of symbolic value of place which changes when people stay within the country or migrate to live outside it?

The thesis has revealed that symbolic attachment to 'the family' (relational anchoring) within discourses of mobility is important and can be explored further. I have shown that families do not have to be patriarchal nuclear families to be problematic arenas for negotiation over who gives and receives transfers/remittances and care and why. Family forms and living arrangements are diverse and involve a wide locus of relations yet similar kinds of issues, conflicts and tensions remain; 'traditional' gender roles and gendered power dynamics and inequalities shaped by cultural notions of *machismo* persist. I have highlighted tensions around remittances and care, including who is supported and who is not, and the ways in which in-laws compete for resources. These dynamics of how relations are realised in social practice and are negotiated could be further explored. However, I also noted evidence of males taking on caring roles and responsibilities including caring for sick or ageing parents in places of origin and taking care of their children when their wives/female partners migrate abroad. Further research could explore situations of males in care-giving roles and the extent to which this influences and changes 'patriarchal habitus' (Thieme, 2008), and masculinities and femininities within families (Kofman *et al*, 2011).

The thesis provides powerful evidence of a felt need to defend a positive idea of family and an upholding of loyalty and care to family even in relation to lived experiences of ill-treatment, abuse, harm and conflicts. It has also shown *pena* as a discourse of loyalty on the part of those who move who make a self-interested decision to distance themselves from family. The symbolism of the family has been shown through the discussion of *pena*, particularly in narratives of an enduring *pena*, through how people search attachments, affection, nurturing and anchoring in other relations, to create symbolic families and 'other mothers'. However, these relations are often unequal and exploitative leading to an

‘ambiguous anchoring’. This search for anchoring and creation of ‘family-like’ relations is particularly significant in contexts of abandonment and rupture in close family relations and reveals the need to establish and maintain relations and to build a moral proximity of responsibilities and obligations, relations that one can rely on and that act ‘like family’. This is not to over-romanticise ‘family’, as I have shown families are sites of differential treatment, negotiation, struggle, *pena* and self-interest, as well as sources of help, reciprocity and care. These aspects of the symbolism of family could be researched further.

This discussion leads on to an important area for further research relating to the transfer of care involved in practices of mobility. I have noted the ambiguity and ambivalence of situations where children and young people go to live in other homes and whilst there is no doubt that these situations frequently entail labour exploitation, an issue for further research is how to best understand and describe these patterns. It is often unclear whether the situation is one of ‘staying with relatives’ (e.g. as a guest) or a domestic labour position (often unpaid or very low paid), or elements of both. It is also unclear whether the *sistema de tias* should be considered a form of trafficking of children and young people or as a system of fostering, or whether it is merely a route for mobility to the city (and part of the dynamics of kinship arrangements). Further research could explore not only how these practices are understood locally but also how they compare to patterns in other countries. Thus future research into the habitus of transferring ‘care’ for children, such as the *sistema de tias* could usefully be extended comparatively with reference to other empirical examples. For example, Findley (1997) has noted comparable patterns in West Africa where large numbers of females start moving as very young children and are fostered to aunts, grandmothers or other foster mothers. In Ghana Coe (2011b) finds that family patterns involving the circulation of children through different households (relatives and non-relatives) have long facilitated parent’s urban migration and are now supporting parent’s international migration. In Cape Verde Akesson *et al* (2012) also identify the normality of the practice of fostering of children between local households and that many children do not grow up with their biological parents, and how the ‘transnational fostering triangle’ supports female migration from Cape Verde to Europe and North America.

In the transnational migration literature care deficits have been identified when children are left behind in the care of others when their mothers migrate to live in another country (transnational motherhood) and have difficulties exerting their parenting roles from a distance (Carrasco, 2010). The notion of ‘global care chains’ describes the global transfer of care work from poor countries to rich countries, “when women leave their families to work as nannies, cleaners, and elderly carers in the affluent homes of the West. They talk of a global transfer of emotional resources which leaves poor countries in a situation of ‘care drain’” (Zontini, 2010: 55, citing Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003, and Hochschild, 2000). Narratives revealed examples of comparable care gaps and deficits in situations where a mother leaves the household to work away in another district within Lima leaving children in the care of grandparents (in Lima) and how a mother’s absence is deeply felt. This is further evidence of the need to explore dynamics of place and distance as highlighted above, how do emotional impacts of separation and ‘care deficits’ differ with distance (e.g. separation within Lima, between village and city, village/city to abroad). Narratives also revealed many examples of care deficits and care gaps experienced in situations of child and youth mobility. The thesis has shown that it is how space is shared and experienced in the living and work situations that children and young people move to, alongside the nature of relations maintained and reworked with close relatives that influences levels of wellbeing. In circumstances of rupture or absent relations with close family, the nature of experiences and treatment in these ‘other homes’ appears to be particularly significant, as shown in narratives of enduring *pena* which portray experiences of ‘care deficits’ which continue to influence senses of wellbeing. This thesis points to the importance of further research to explore the understudied area of care deficits in intra-national movements and how these link with care gaps identified in transnational families. How do care deficits associated with intra-national movements compare, contrast and link with those associated with transnational migration? A further care deficit which has been explored to an even lesser extent in the literature relates to the material and emotional care needs of parents left behind as they grow older (Kofman *et al*, 2011). The care and support of ageing parents in places of origin is a key development issue, as Kothari (2002) argues, the elderly may be particularly vulnerable if the family and community networks that they are dependent on

decline through the out-migration of others, undermining social security systems. Interviews with residents of rural and peri-urban areas revealed tension, uncertainty and anxiety about where they would pass their later life and the potential impact of this on their wellbeing. This is an important area for further research.

This discussion has illustrated the need for the literature on intra-national and international migration to engage strongly with the link between mobility and care dynamics including caring practices, responsibilities, transfers of care, and care deficits. This is particularly important for the literature concerned with movements within developing countries which has tended to focus on labour mobility, livelihoods, and moves as a result of crises – environmental, economic, and demographic (de Haan, 1999). As Baldassar (2007: 275) argues: “migrancy is sometimes triggered by the need to give or receive care rather than the more commonly assumed ‘rational’ economic motivations”. Further research is needed to better understand and explore patterns and practices of mobility and care, and the varying dynamics and lived experiences of separation within families.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview schedules for migration study, WeD-Peru research

Questions for ALL interviews:

ABCD 1. General data

- 1.1. Community
- 1.2. Date
- 1.3. Interviewer (code)
- 1.4. Household address
- 1.5. Name
- 1.6. Name of head of household
- 1.7. Number of household for RANQ (if RANQ was applied)
- 1.8. Respondent ID

ABCD 1. Characteristics of the respondent and members of the household

Questions about respondent:

- ABCD 1.1 Sex
- ABCD 1.2 Age
- ABCD 1.3 Relationship to household head
- ABCD 1.4 Marital status (code)
- ABCD 1.5 Occupation (primary and secondary)
- ABCD 1.6 Level of education (code)
- ABCD 1.7 Place of birth
- ABCD 1.8 Time of residence in site

Questions about each member of the household:

- Name
- ABCD 1.9 Sex
- ABCD 1.10 Age
- ABCD 1.11 Relationship to household head
- ABCD 1.12 Place of birth
- ABCD 1.13 Time of residence in site (if not currently living in the household, indicate 'not present')

Interview schedule: A Migrants

A2 Patterns of migration

*Question about **respondent**:*

A2.1a Where did you move from?

A2.2 Have you lived in any other places?

If yes, for each place:

A2.2a Where?

A2.2b When?

A2.2c How much time were you there for?

A2.2d What did you do there?

*Question about **members of the household**::*

A2.3 Are any members of your household/close family currently living away?

If yes, for each member living away:

Name

A2.3a Where?

A2.3b What are they doing?

A2.3c How much time have they been away for?

A2.3d Are there plans for (*person's name*) to return?

If yes, what plans?

If no, why not?

A2.3e How often does (*person's name*) visit you?

A2.3f How often do you visit (*person's name*)?

A2.4 Have any of the members of your household/close family lived in any other places? If yes, for each member and each place:

Name

A2.4a Where?

A2.4b When?

A2.4c How much time were they away for?

A2.4d What did they do there?

A3 Decision-making process

A3.1 What were the main reasons why it was decided for you to move?

A3.2 Please tell me step by step **how** it was decided for you to move?

(the process of making the decision, include the persons that may have exerted some influence on the decision, who was involved in making the decision).

A4 Experience

A4.1 What did you need in order to move? (resources)

A4.2 When you were about to leave the place where you lived before, what did you expect to find here?

A4.3 Up until this point, what have you found here? (cover each expectation; perception of achievement of expectations of migration)

A4.4 What have been the best things that you have found about living here?

A4.5 What have been the worst things that you have found about living here?

A4.6 Do you think you are better or worse than before you moved? Why?

A4.7 How do you see things for the future? (plans to stay, to move to another place, to return to the place where they came from)

A4.8 What has been the impact on you of people that have come from other places to live in this community? (how have they influenced your life here, affects)

A5 Networks

A5.1 Do you give help (ayuda) to the people who are living in any of the places where you have lived before?

If no, ask the respondent to explain why.

If yes, for each person the respondent gives help to:

A5.1a Who? (name of person and name of place where they live)

A5.1b Relation to the interviewee

A5.1c What help do you give?

A5.1d How often?

A5.1e How significant is it to you to give help to this person? (how does it make you feel to give this help to this person?)

A5.2 Do you receive help from the people who are living in any of the places where you have lived before?

If no, ask the respondent to explain why.

If yes, for each person the respondent receives help from:

A5.2a Who? (name of person and name of place where they live)

A5.2b What is the relation with the interviewee

A5.2c What help do you receive?

A5.2d How often?

A5.2e How significant is it for you the help of this person? (how does it make you feel to receive this help?)

A6 Notes, observations (please give additional information about the respondent that will help to give context to the case, further notes from the interview, additional questions asked, observations)

Interview schedule: B Non-migrants with migrant household members (who are currently away)

B2 Patterns of migration

Question about members of the respondent's household:

B2.1 For each member of the household/close family that is currently living in another place at this time, ask the following questions:

Name

B2.1a Where?

B2.1b What are they doing?

B2.1c How long have they been away for?

B2.1d Are there plans for *(person's name)* to return?

If yes, what plans?

If no, why not?

B2.1e How often does *(person's name)* visit you?

B2.1f How often do you visit *(person's name)*?

B2.2 Have any of the members of your household/close family lived in any other places?

If yes, for each member and each place:

Name

B2.2a Where?

B2.2b When?

B2.2c How much time were they away for?

B2.2d What did they do there?

B3 Decision-making process

B3.1 Have you ever thought about living in another place similar to (mention household members that are away)

If yes, why did you not go, why have you stayed here?

If no, why not?

B3.2 Please, tell me step by step **how** it was decided for you to stay here (the process of making the decision, include the persons that may have exerted some influence on the decision, who was involved in making the decision).

B4 Experience

B4.1 For each member of the household that is currently away ask: What expectations did you have about (migrant member of household) moving away?

B4.2 And at this moment, what have you found? (cover each expectation, for each migrant member)

B4.3 What have been the best things for you that have happened in relation to *(migrant household member)* moving away? (ask for each member that is currently away)

B4.4 What have been the worst things for you that have happened in relation to *(migrant household member)* moving away? (ask for each member that is currently away)

B4.5 Do you think you are better or worse than before *(migrant household member)* moved away? Why? (ask for each member that has migrated)

B4.6 How do you see things for the future? (plans to stay, go to other place, for migrant members to return)

B4.7 What has been the impact on you of people that have come from other places to live in this community? (in-migration)

B4.8 What has been the impact on you of people from this community (other than members of your household) that have gone to live in other places? (out-migration)

B5 Networks

B5.1 Do you give help (ayuda) to (*migrant household member*)?

If no, why not?

If yes:

B5.1a Name

B5.1b What help do you give?

B5.1c How often?

B5.1d How significant is it to you to give help to this person? (how does it make you feel to give this help to this person?)

B5.2 Do you receive help (ayuda) from (*migrant household member*)?

If no, why not?

If yes:

B5.2a Name

B5.2b What help do you receive?

B5.2c How often?

B5.2d How significant is this help for you? (how does it make you feel to receive this help?)

B6 Notes, observations (please give additional information about the respondent that will help to give context to the case, further notes from the interview, additional questions asked, observations)

Interview schedule: C Non-migrants with no migrant household members

C3 Decision making process

C3.1 Have you ever thought about living in another place (outside of this district)?

If yes, why did you not go, why have you stayed here?

If no, why not?

C3.2 Please, tell me step by step *how* it was decided for you to stay here (include the persons that may have exerted some influence on the decision, who was involved in making the decision).

C4 Experience

C4.1 What are the best things for you about living here?

C4.2 What are the worst things for you about living here?

C4.3 Do you think you are better or worse now than if you had gone to live in another place? Why?

C4.4 How do you see things for the future? (plans to stay, to move away)

C4.5 What has been the impact on you of people from this community that have gone to live in other places? (out-migration)

C4.6 What has been the impact on you of people that have come from other places to live in this community? (in-migration)

C5 Networks

C5.1 Do you give help (ayuda) to people who have moved away from here?

If no, why not?

If yes, for each person the respondent gives help to:

C5.1a Who? (name)

C5.1b Relation to the interviewee

C5.1c Where is the person living?

C5.1d What help do you give?

C5.1e How often?

C5.1f How significant is it to you, giving this help to this person? (how does it make you feel to give this help to this person?)

C5.2 Do you receive help (ayuda) from people who have moved away from this community?

If yes, for each person the respondent receives help from:

C5.2a Who? (name)

C5.2b Relation to the interviewee

C5.2c Where is the person living?

C5.2d What help do you receive?

C5.2e How often?

C5.2f How significant is this help to you? (how does it make you feel to receive this help?)

C6 Notes, observations (please give additional information about the respondent that will help to give context to the case, further notes from the interview, additional questions asked, observations)

Interview schedule: D Return Migrant

D2 Patterns of migration

*Question about **respondent**:*

D2.1a Where did you live before you returned here?

D2.1b How long were you there for?

D2.1c What did you do there?

D2.2 Have you lived in any other places? If yes, for each place:

D2.2a Where?

D2.2b When?

D2.2c How much time were you there for?

D2.2d What did you do there?

*Question about **members of the household/close family**:*

D2.3 Are any members of your household/close family currently living in another places?

If yes, for each member living away:

Name

D2.3a Where?

D2.3b What are they doing?

D2.3c How much time have they been away for?

D2.3d Are there plans for *(person's name)* to return?

If yes: what plans?

If no: why not?

D2.3e How often does *(person's name)* visit you?

D2.3f How often do you visit *(person's name)*?

D2.4 Have any of the members of your household/close family lived in other places? If yes, for each member and each place:

Name

D2.4a Where?

D2.4b When?

D2.4c For how much time were they away for?

D2.4d What did they do there?

D3 Decision-making process

D3.1 What were the main reasons why it was decided for you to return?

D3.2 Please tell me step by step, how it was decided for you to return? (the process of making the decision, include the persons that may have exerted some influence on the decision, who was involved in making the decision).

D4 Experience

D4.1 What did you need in order to return? (resources)

D4.2 When you were about to leave the place where you lived before, what did you expect to find here (in the place of return)?

D4.3 And until this point, what have you found? (ask for each expectation; perception of achievement of expectations of return migration)

- D4.4 What have been the best things that you have found about returning to live here?
- D4.5 What have been the worst things that you have found about returning to live here?
- D4.6 Do you think you are better or worse than before you returned? Why?
- D4.7 How do you see things for the future? (plans to stay, to move to another place)
- D4.8 What has been the impact on you of people that have come from other places to live in this community? (in-migration)

D5 Networks

- D5.1 Do you give help (ayuda) to the people (relatives, friends, organisations) who are living in any of the places where you have lived before?
- If no, why not?
- If yes, for each person the respondent gives help to:
- D5.1a Who? (name of person and name of place where they live)
- D5.1b Relation to the interviewee
- D5.1c What help do you give?
- D5.1d How often?
- D5.1e How significant is it to you to give help to this person? (how does it make you feel to give this help to this person?)
- D5.2 Do you receive help from the people who are living in any of the places where you have lived before?
- If no, why not?
- If yes, for each person the respondent receives help from:
- D5.2a Who? (name of person and name of place where they live)
- D5.2b What is the relation with the interviewee
- D5.2c What help do you receive?
- D5.2d How often?
- D5.2e How significant is it for you the help of this person? (how does it make you feel to receive this help?)

D6 Notes, observations (please give additional information about the respondent that will help to give context to the case, further notes from the interview, additional questions asked, observations)

Appendix 2: Interview schedule for migration supplement of the income and expenditure survey

(Questions were closed/coded unless stated otherwise)

PART 1 - About the Respondent

Place/household code

1.1 How long have you lived here (in this community)? ... (yrs)

All my life / almost all my life ☐ (go to Qu1.7)

1.2 Have you lived in any other different places? Yes ☐ No ☐ (go to Qu1.7)

1.3 Please think about the different places in which you have lived, we would like to know about the movement which has been the most important to you (in terms of both wellbeing and illbeing).

1.3 Details about movement

1.3a. Movement from

1.3b. Movement to

1.3c. How long have you lived / did you live in the place you moved to (years)

1.3d. What did you do there / are you doing here?

1.3e. What were the 5 main reasons why you moved?

1.3f Who was involved in making the decision to move?

1.4 Tell me step by step how this decision was made? (open question)

1.5a What did you expect to find there/here?

1.5b Have you actually achieved / did you actually achieve this (for each expectation)

1.6 How has this movement affected / did this movement affect: (open question)

1.6a **Your** situation (in all aspects)

1.6b The situation of the **members of your family (that moved with you)** (in all aspects)

1.6c The situation of the **members of your family that did not move**, carried on living in the community (in all aspects)

Question to **respondents who have NOT lived in other places** (those that responded to qu 1.1 '(almost) all my life')

1.7 Have you ever thought about living in another place? Yes ☐ No ☐

1.7a If yes, why did you not go?

1.7b If no, why not?

PART 2 - About household members/close family

2.1 Are any members of your household/close family currently living away from the community? Yes ☐ No ☐ (go to Part 3)

2.2 Please, about the member(s) of your household/family that are currently living away, we would like to know more about the person whose movement away you feel has been the most important to you (has affected you the most in terms of your wellbeing/illbeing)

- 2.2a ID/Name of household member
- 2.2b Relation with household head.
- 2.2c Place (where currently living)
- 2.2d How long have they been away for (years/months)
- 2.2e What are they doing there?
- 2.2f Who was involved in making the decision to go?
- 2.2g What were the main reasons why they moved away?
- 2.2h What did you expect of the person that moved?
- 2.2i How you/they found what you expected?

- 2.3 How has this movement of (name of household member) affected: (open question)
- 2.3a **Your** situation (in all aspects)
- 2.3b The situation of **your family (in this community)** (in all aspects)
- 2.3c The situation of the **member of your family that moved away** (in all aspects)

PART 3 – About migration in the community where the respondent is currently living

- 3.1 How has the movement of people into this community affected: (open question)
- 3.1a Your situation
- 3.1b The situation of your family
- 3.1c The situation of the community

- 3.2 How has the movement of people away from this community affected: (open question)
- 3.2a Your situation
- 3.2b The situation of your family
- 3.2c The situation of the community

PART 4 – About short-term movements/trips

- 4.1 Do you leave the community temporarily during the year?
Yes ☐ No ☐ (If the answer is No, the questionnaire is completed)
- 4.2 For what reasons do you leave the community temporarily?
- 4.3 Do you consider these trips are?
Very important ☐ Important ☐ A little important ☐ Not important ☐
Why? (open question)
- 4.4 How many times to you leave the community during the year?
- 4.5 And to which places?

Sex of the respondent: male female
 Relation to head of household: